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ABSTRACT

The STRIDE (Service, Training, and Research in Desegregated Education) program, designed to assist school districts in the process of desegregation, was established by the U.S. Office of Education under Title IV of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. During 1974-75, a series of regional conferences was held in Arizona, California, and Nevada. Topics of critical importance were presented, discussed, and evaluated in a number of conferences entitled: Workshop on Community Relations; Cultural Pluralism: A Solution for the Seventies; Content Analysis of Print Materials for Multicultural Suitability; and Administrative Strategies for Pluralistic Education. Nine of the papers presented at the regional conferences are included in this book: perspectives on the developing concept of pluralism in education; the role of educational institutions in promoting cultural pluralism; various stages in the transition from segregation to cultural pluralism; four paper addressing the concerns of ethnic groups in terms of pluralistic education; views on the educational implications of locus of control; and practical ways of working through conflicts by use of a mutually agreed on conflict resolution model. (Author/JM)

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SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

AND

CULTURAL PLURALISM:

Perspectives on Progress

Selected Presentations of the 1974-75 STRIDE Workshops

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STRIDE — Service, Training, and Research in Desegregated Education
Far West Laboratory for Educational Research & Development
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All inquiries or requests for additional copies should be sent to:

Dr. Leonard C. Beckum, Director
STRIDE
Far West Laboratory for Educational
Research and Development
1855 Folsom Street
San Francisco, California 94103

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Preface

STRIDE (Service, Training and Research in Desegregated Education) is designed to assist school districts in the process of desegregation. It is based at the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, San Francisco. The program was established by the U.S. Office of Education under Title IV of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Services are provided on request and without charge to participating school districts.

During 1974-75, a series of regional conferences were held in Arizona, California, and Nevada. Topics of critical importance to teachers, students, community groups, administrators and board members were presented, discussed, and evaluated. These conferences were entitled:

I. Workshop on Community Relations

II. Cultural Pluralism: A Solution for the 70s

III. Content Analysis of Print Materials for Multicultural Suitability

IV. Administrative Strategies for Pluralistic Education.

Nine of the papers presented at the regional conferences are included in this book. To others who also presented papers or discussed desegregation issues, STRIDE expresses its appreciation for their generous sharing and dedication to the cause of equalizing educational opportunities.

Special appreciation is due to Dr. John Hemphill, Director of the Far West Laboratory, for his continuing interest in and support of the project. Recognition is also due to Advisory Panel members for their valuable assistance. Finally, the contributions of the STRIDE staff who planned and coordinated the conferences and those who prepared this book for publication are acknowledged.

PROGRAM STAFF

Leonard C. Beckum, Project Director

James A. Vasquez, Project Co-Director

Luis Diaz de Leon, Community Relations
M. Ronald Miller, Administrative Services
David M. Patterson, Staff Training
Wayne E. Rosenoff, Curriculum Services

FIELD REPRESENTATIVES
Lewis Bundy, Southern California and Nevada
William De La Torre, Southern California and Nevada
Charlotte Kobayashi, Northern California
Sandra Long, Northern California
Alvin L. Taylor, Southern California and Arizona
Oscar Uribe, Jr., Northern California

EDITORS
Jeanne L. Lance
Wayne E. Rosenoff

TRANSCRIPTION
Olga Limonczenko
Aurora Madrigal de Sanchez

PRODUCTION
Chet Tanaka

INTRODUCTION

Leonard C. Beckum
Dr. Beckum is Director of STRIDE (Service, Training, and Research in Desegregated Education), Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, San Francisco.

During the last fourteen months it has been the responsibility of STRIDE staff to design, develop, and deliver realistic technical assistance to desegregating school districts. Our efforts are aimed at providing a variety of information and techniques to aid school personnel working with culturally pluralistic student populations. Desegregation is the focus of the legislation under which STRIDE was funded; in line with this concept, we are committed to improving the educational opportunities available to all children.

The educational experiences I and other staff members brought to the project have convinced us that desegregation alone is not enough. Racial and ethnic groups, both students and teachers, too often remain segregated within the desegregated school. Teachers and administrators find themselves faced with unexpected and unfamiliar problems in the educational process. A whole new set of demands is made of counselors; curriculum materials come under close scrutiny and frequent criticism from parents and community; and discipline or classroom management problems begin to hinder the teacher's facilitation of learning. When we realized the complexity of the total desegregation effort in any school, it appeared to us that a deeper understanding of the educational needs of minority students was critical to and also consonant with the basic intent of desegregation/integration processes.

We view the desegregated school as a starting point in any meaningful attempt to provide relevant, quality education to our nation's children. The resources of STRIDE are directed toward meeting students' educational needs in a culturally pluralistic society, as well as a culturally pluralistic classroom. The concept of action-oriented, service-based technical assistance underlies all our activities. After a year of operation, we are convinced of the utility of our approach as a means of achieving valuable and necessary change.

Response to our initial series of regional workshops — in staff training, needs assessment and administrative modifications, curriculum content analysis, and community relations — has reinforced our commitment to these service activities.

We are pleased to present here nine of the major addresses made in the 1974-75 regional workshops. We believe that each of the papers addresses from a different perspective the problems of education in a pluralistic educational environment. The uniqueness of each presenter's message and its relevance to overall educational needs of a culturally pluralistic society provided the basic criteria for inclusion. The reader will find these presentations rich with stimulating and provocative ideas.

The address by Dr. Asa Hilliard presents his perspectives on the developing concept of pluralism in education. It is an active approach, discussing the way in which teaching strategies can be used to put cultural pluralism into practice. He stresses the need to conceptualize pluralistic education before one can begin to develop adequate educational programs. In his estimation, culturally pluralistic education offers a viable way to meet the unique educational needs of American society.

Dr. Carlos Cortes explores the role of educational institutions in promoting cultural pluralism. He points out the need for educational institutions, both educators and students, to begin to understand the importance of groups and how they function in our society. Dr. Cortes believes that when educational institutions and educators refuse to deal honestly with the realities of groups in our society, they are short-changing the students. Educators must help students to recognize, understand, and work within their own group's identity and culture, and also respect the identity and culture of other groups.

Dr. James Deslonde discusses various stages in the transition from segregation to cultural pluralism. He leads the reader step-by-step through each of these stages, discussing in depth criteria and evaluation techniques for a culturally pluralistic school. Although Dr. Deslonde stresses that each district's requirements are unique, he outlines one model for conducting a needs assessment.

Four of the papers address the concerns of ethnic groups in terms of pluralistic education. Dr. Lowell Bean presents the history of California Indians and their present educational needs. Rev. Vahac Mardirosian outlines the achievements of the Mexican-American Education Commission in their pursuit for relevant pluralistic education. Dr. Raye Richardson speaks from a Black perspective on the necessity for relevant curricula for blacks and other minorities. Dr. Albert Yee points out the dominance of White ethnocentric textbooks and how they fail to adequately address the issue of the Chinese-American in education. All of these workshop presenters look at how specific ethnic groups contribute to the pluralistic setting of our educational system.

As stated earlier, the goal of STRIDE is to bring useful technical assistance to districts. In keeping with this goal, Dr. James Vasquez,

Co-director of STRIDE, presents his views on the educational implications of locus of control. He describes measures whereby teachers and other school personnel can foster "internality" in students. Dr. Vasquez's paper is one of the most practical and useful addresses presented at our workshops, and his work with local districts has been repeatedly requested.

Conflict in the schools has become one of the most pressing concerns of educators. We recognized this early in our work with districts around the region. In order to help districts begin to address the problem of school conflict, Dr. John DeCecco became a major presenter in our workshops. Dr. DeCecco spoke to workshop participants about practical ways of working through conflicts through use of a mutually agreed-upon conflict resolution model.

These nine papers represent a portion of the addresses given at regional workshops throughout Region IX during the first year of our program. They attest to the interest and emphasis we place on pluralistic education. In addition, certain districts have requested and received addresses by these presenters at the district level. During 1975-76, STRIDE is increasing our emphasis on and our services to districts at the local level.

Undoubtedly, the high quality of these presentations greatly contributed to the overall success of our efforts. Those district personnel joining us for the second year will find these papers invaluable in securing a deeper understanding of our work. This book will provide a welcome opportunity for administrators, teachers, and others concerned to obtain in permanent form STRIDE's major 1974-75 addresses.

BASIC FOUNDATIONS FOR CULTURAL PLURALISM IN EDUCATION

Asa Hilliard
Dr. Hilliard is Dean of the School of Education, San Francisco State University.

Introduction

I would like to share with you a perspective about the concept of pluralism in education that leads to teaching strategies and what you do about cultural pluralism in practice. I think that a conceptual perspective is important, since multicultural education is usually treated as one of a thousand responsibilities added on to a school person's job. It is seen as one more thing to learn about at a workshop to add into the school mix. Multicultural education innovations are lumped together with "program budgeting and accounting" or "career education" or any other minor alteration in the system. That's the way our educational system has grown. However, I think that we are dealing with something more fundamental than anything we have dealt with before. I don't believe we have begun to plumb the depths of cultural pluralism and its meaning for revolutionizing education. Obviously, multicultural education has some immediate benefits for oppressed groups. Beyond that, I believe that a proper understanding of the implications of multicultural education or cultural pluralism in education will reveal a fundamental possibility for dealing with education in a way that it has never been dealt with before in this country, and maybe not in any other country. I think you'll see what I'm driving toward a little bit later on, whether you agree with me or not.

I would like to start with a quotation from Carlos Castaneda, who, in learning from the Yaqui Indian don Juan, has attempted to explore what is real. There are some fascinating and profound thoughts in his books, *A Separate Reality* and *Journey to Ixtlan*. I think that these thoughts are directly relevant to what we have to deal with in multicultural or culturally plural education. Near the beginning of *Journey to Ixtlan*, Castaneda tells don Juan about a friend who is having trouble with his nine-year-old son. This boy is a misfit in school, lacks concentration, and is given to tantrums and running away from home. Don Juan replies,

> . . . "if your friend were a warrior he would help his child to stop the world."

"How can my friend do that?"

"He would need personal power. He would need to be a sorcerer."

"But he isn't."

"In that case, he must use ordinary means to help his son to change his idea about the world. It is not stopping the world, but it will work just the same."

I asked him to explain his statements.

"If I were your friend," don Juan said, "I would start by hiring someone to spank the little guy. I would go to skid row and hire the worst-looking man I could find."

"To scare a little boy?"

"Not just to scare a little boy, you fool. That little fellow must be stopped, and being beaten by his father won't do it."

"If one wants to stop our fellow man, one must always be outside the circle that presses them."

. . . "After the man scares him, your friend must help the little boy regain his confidence in any way he can. If he follows this procedure three or four times, I assure you that that child will feel differently towards everything. He will change his idea of the world."

"What if the fright injures him?"

"Fright never injures anyone. What injures the spirit is having someone always on your back, beating you, telling you what to do and what not to do.

"When that boy is more contained you must tell your friend to do one last thing for him. He must find some way to get to a dead child, perhaps in a hospital, or at the office of a doctor. He must take his son there and show the dead child to him. He must let him touch the corpse once with his left hand, on any place except the corpse's belly. After the boy does that he will be renewed. The world will never be the same for him." [1]

Think about the exchange between don Juan and Castaneda as analogous to that between teacher and a student or a teacher educator and a teacher in training. This exchange could be a model for thinking about the education of children, but it could also serve as a model for the education of teachers, particularly in the sensitive area of multicultural education. Much of the emphasis in multicultural education has to do with opening our eyes to sights, sounds, feelings, thoughts, fears, and anxieties that we've never been able to confront before.

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[1] Carlos Castaneda, *Journey to Ixtlan: The Lessons of the Don Juan* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972), pp.11-12.

The Root Problems

Cultural pluralism concerns grow out of problems, not out of the need for appreciation, not out of the wish to visit strange new lands, not out of the desire to own African artifacts, or to have temple rubbings from Bangkok, or to enjoy eating with chopsticks from Japan. Cultural pluralism as a concern in education grows out of our pressing problems: disproportionate failure rates among various ethnic groups, drop outs, intergroup conflicts, personal alienation, student dissatisfaction, and teacher dissatisfaction. A teacher's part in changing this process is important. Teachers are not responsible for everything that goes wrong in a school, but teachers are responsible for much of what goes wrong. If not, what *is* the professional teaching role? Let's forget the part we are not responsible for and deal with the part for which we are responsible.

Teaching About Reality

We as teachers are responsible for two things that have a profound impact on students. The first is to develop a *reality base* for what we do. *To teach about reality is our job.* A second responsibility is to make sure that schools are *less like factories and more like life.* These are very critical issues when we talk about multicultural education and cultural pluralism. If we were doing these things now, we wouldn't have to worry about cultural pluralism and multiculturalism in education. Because we do not fulfill these responsibilities, certain other things happen that cause us to use schools in ways that are dangerous to the lives and minds of the students we serve. What do I mean by a reality base? I mean that as schools are now constructed, as schools are now functioning, *we teach myths rather than reality!* I will illustrate some of those in a moment.

The major interference that keeps us from redesigning schools, breaking away from the factory mentality, and dealing with reality is the supply and demand notion of education. (An example of what I mean by the factory mentality is the statement that we have to close down schools in nursing because there is an oversupply of nurses. Another is to hear someone say that we have to have more community colleges to prevent the overproduction of M.A. or doctoral degrees.) Is employment the only reason for education? What if we move beyond graduation and do what Carlos Castaneda suggests? What if we want to cause a child (or a teacher) to confront his own potential death and at that moment ask, "What was it all about?" This viewpoint raises some serious questions about what we do in education. What do we do at the elementary, secondary, and college levels to help people confront the value decisions they are going to have to make throughout their

lives? This perspective goes far beyond making people fit into a factory economy or developing members of social institutions.

Racism

There's one other problem not limited to the United States — although it got its best start here — and that is racism in education. The functional definition of racism suggests factors that have to be dealt with if we are to be serious about achieving cultural pluralism in schools. Racism is related to our inability to confront reality, and to our willingness to be satisfied with schools as nothing more than factories for the production of labor, rather than learning environments for the growth of people. When I say racist, I mean behavior that is either conscious or unconscious, that is either individual or institutional, or that is the consequence of institutional practices acting to the detriment of some particular racial group.

I'm not going to go too deeply into a definition of racism because I think you wouldn't be in the room if you hadn't already heard these statements. However, I will add a couple of new dimensions. The elements of racism and the way of regarding racism that will suggest what must be done in education must be made explicit. It's almost impossible for any of us to be unaffected by racism in some degree. We may be either racists or pro-racists. What do I mean by those terms? *Racism is a mental illness.* It is characterized by perceptual distortions, delusions of grandeur (belief in one's own superiority or one's group superiority), phobias or fear of groups that are different, and denials of reality. These distortions, delusions, phobias, and denials are not caused by feelings of superiority, but by feelings of inferiority. The racist has a deep-seated sense of inferiority, and his or her behavior is really a protective reaction. The racist fears competition. The racist gets rid of competition very easily by proclaiming that certain racial groups simply are not qualified, cannot learn, and other unsubstantiated assertions. However, if we can prove these allegations false by demonstrating what minority-group persons can achieve, we have an answer to the riddle of what we have to do to undo the harm that schools are now doing.

PERCEPTUAL DISTORTION. Why do we have to be concerned about racism in talking about cultural pluralism and multiculturalism? Is there perceptual distortion reflected in the lessons taught at school? Try this test. Pick out the number of people in the following list who are Black or of Black African descent mixed with other so-called races. You can keep score for yourself, and you won't have to reveal your answers to anyone. Beethoven, Pushkin, Cleopatra, Hannibal, Pharaoh Akhenaton, Zeus, Aesop, Solomon, Turtullian, Attila the

Hun, Alexander Dumas, Robert Browning, Osirus, Venus, Jupiter, Hercules, Nefertiti, Imhotep, Clitus, Othello, St. Benedict. The answer is "all." If that fact is shocking to you, it is an example of perceptual distortion in our education. Some people who distort do so deliberately. Distorted perception in others is due to the fact that these persons have accepted a distorted perspective. In either case, an educator becomes either a racist or pro-racist. One would be pro-racist if he or she continues to support a system that delivers false answers.

BLACK HISTORY. The answer to my question regarding Blacks on the list of famous people has been available in standard references for years. But over time, for one reason or another, it has become important for us not to notice certain defining characteristics of people who we "know" about in history. I could have given similar examples using current Blacks or any other ethnic group. The reason that I gave the above example is that most people who write the history of Blacks in the U.S. start with "dark Africa" and an ignorant slave. History starts with slavery in the U.S., as if nothing happened with Black people in Africa before the slave trade. That, in fact, is not the case nor a picture of the real world. Colonials have actually recreated history in order to justify colonial expansion.

Information of this kind is open not only to students but to every teacher. Every teacher can dig out these facts on his or her own and find the truth in the original sources. Herodotus, the original historian, was an eyewitness when the Greeks were in Egypt, and he described the people he saw there. The Egyptians and the Ethiopians that he saw he described as "woolly haired, thick-lipped, broad noses, and burnt of skin." This is an available eyewitness description. It is not hidden from anyone. A reference that goes into this more thoroughly is J. A. Rogers' book, which for years could not be published in the U.S. He had to have the book printed at his own expense. His wife Helga Rogers in New York continues to publish most of his work. One of Rogers' books is titled *Sex and Race;* another is *The World's Great Men of Color,* finally published by Collier. It's in paperback and is the only book by this great Black scholar to be published by a major publisher now. Many of the things Rogers said years ago, as early as 1933, White people rejected outright. This is denial. People must go back to the original sources and read what was said.

It was a real surprise to me, for example, to find out that Krishna is the Indian word for "the black one." No teacher in all my years of schooling told me that, even though false, negative information about Black people was abundant. It really doesn't make any difference whether Krishna is Black or not. I'm not trying to play games about who did what first, like Russia and the United States used to play

about who discovered what, because I think that's a stupid game to play. It only becomes important when you find out that "scholars" and other people have invented a reality in order to justify the kinds of oppression that we have seen in our nation.

False reality has justified segregation in this country and for years has justified educational deprivation of minorities of color. How could one come to a pro-racist predisposition without the help of a system of education that supports the same? Presentation of and acceptance of false reality was also true of those who were in the field of anthropology, who were in the field of psychology, who were regarded as top people in some of our "top" institutions, and who actually collected, distorted, and in some cases destroyed history. This distortion of reality resulted in the production of a pitiful set of educated people who can accept things without question. Statements such as "Columbus discovered America and met Indians here." In the 50s, 60s, and 70s, people can hear that statement, not notice the logical contradiction, and not be the least bit intellectually annoyed at its incongruity. How can generations of U.S. citizens accept this statement and raise no questions about it? What is it about our educational system that permits us to build things in such a monocultural way that we can't take obvious information and treat it in a rational fashion? That's perceptual distortion. It is an outgrowth of delusions of grandeur, which in some cases, stems from a phobia. This whole distortion is what I mean when I say racism is pervasive in the operations of schools. It is the reason why we have to begin to uproot and remove from our schools all things that cause us to continue these practices. *We have to know where to look in order to change racist practices.*

RACISM IN THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS. How does racism show up today? It shows up in history books written about the U.S. For example, I once taught history in high school. I had studied history at a fine university but did not know that in 1935, W.E.B. DuBois had written an outstanding scholarly work, which has been compared to Beard's *Rise of American Civilization.* DuBois' book is titled *Black Reconstruction.* For years I did not know about it. I was victimized like most of you were by the propaganda movie *The Birth of a Nation* and other films that were deliberately designed to suggest incompetence, tomfoolery, and everything else negative about Blacks who were freed from slavery to participate as citizens in government. No mention is ever made, for example, of Black reconstruction legislators who initiated the drive for the first public school system in the South. There is another whole perspective on history, one that you can accept as better or not. However, to have no information upon which to make a

judgment is an example of perceptual distortion; it may involve a suppression of facts.

If we talk about dealing with reality, we must deal with this kind of distortion. Because of distortion, pluralism has not come about naturally. If we were dealing with reality, we wouldn't have to worry about pluralism, because then DuBois would be examined along with anyone else who wrote books on reconstruction. The "scholars" ignored his works. This is what I mean. Now who are the real "scholars?" We are. Every person who teaches. Every person who teaches teachers and has access to the library is responsible. Libraries are free. They don't cost anything, except a little time and a little responsibility.

TESTING. Racism also shows up in tests. There's a very good book about the history of the testing movement. If you have $8 to spend this year on a book, buy Leon Kamin's, *The Science and Politics of I.Q.* It contains the best repudiation of Arthur Jensen that you'll find. Leon Kamin is chairman of the psychology department at Princeton. Almost anyone can make Shockley look bad, but Jensen has a greater image of objectivity. But Kamin shows that for his basic information, Jensen used statistical manipulations on faulty data from the original Cyril Burt studies of twins and other faulty studies of twins. Starting from the original faulty data, he then spun an elaborate web of "evidence" to prove the racial superiority of certain peoples. I think you would be very interested in his appraisal of Jensen, but moreover you would be interested in Kamin's discussion about a number of people who were regarded as top scholars and who deliberately participated in designing an environment that permitted people to oppress others.

In the early days of the intelligence testing movement, the aim of the oppression was not racial minorities but Europeans who came from the "wrong" countries. The aim was at Italians, Poles, Jews, and in some cases the French and others who were said to be "feeble-minded." Something like 80 to 90 percent of those groups, according to the Stanford-Binet I.Q. test, were identified as feeble-minded. The fact that we've been able to let these practices occur in "educational psychology," and that you probably didn't know anything about this context for test development, leaves an unreal perspective. If you did know, you were in a rare psychology course. I was "trained" in psychology and never heard anything about how some psychologists institutionalized racism in the development of public policy. The people involved were some presidents of the American Psychological Association and publishers of the top journals. Some were also members of the American Eugenics Research Association, advising Congress on immigration laws — not only advising, but actively

lobbying to keep certain ethnic groups out of the country. They wanted to exclude the Europeans that they happened not to like. These practices have been part of the main history of psychology. If we don't deal with these practices, then we're not dealing with reality, and we and our students grow up in a dream world.

SCHOOL PROGRAMS. Racism may come out in school programs if we deal with such innovations as "career education." When we say career education, what do we mean? Are we talking about schools with low-income students turning out more low-level workers? If we say "business education" do we mean management, ownership, investment, and supervision? If we talk about business education at a high school where students have a low socio-economic status, do we mean the former or do we only mean typing and filing? If so, we are dealing from a very biased perspective. We can do this without even being aware that we're doing it.

A content analysis study was done on speeches made to students in high schools and junior high schools by outside speakers at commencement and at other times. In schools serving wealthy neighborhoods, the speakers were always telling the students, "You're going to be the leaders of tomorrow; the future is in your hands; you're going to take over from us." The speakers would be congressmen, top leaders in industry, mayors, and others of similar status. On the other hand, when speeches to students at the bottom of the socio-economic heap were analyzed, content of the speeches changed whether they were addressed to racial minorities or poor Whites. Both what people were talking about and who was talking were quite different. Most often you would hear a policeman, the recreation leader, or a person of similar status talking about "volunteering, duty, service, obedience to the law," and so forth. This is a clear-cut, documentable practice that exists right now. You might do this in your own school district, inadvertently, without planning or intent. The messages that go to students are based on who we think they are before we ever make any attempt to determine who they really are. We make assumptions about who children are. We design curriculum by the area of the city, not by finding out about the students in those schools. We can check up on ourselves by doing the same study. Do a content analysis on the presentations of your guest speakers, see what they say, then try out the experiment in a school that is very different. The results will tell you things that no one has to argue about.

STANDARDS. Racism shows up when we talk about "standards." We are guided by these standards, but I'm not really sure what they mean in schools. I *am* sure that aside from everything else, all people in this country are entitled to at least 12 years of the best education we can

give them. They're entitled to education for 12 years. They're not obligated to become workers in 12 years, although please don't mistake me, *I'm not opposed to educating persons to have employable skills. I'm for that in the strongest way!* I think it's a crime not to have a person employable after you have given him or her educational training. But I'm saying that we owe students much more than employable skills. A person is worth more than that. If we were working on the other aspect of worth, then we couldn't have situations where a person has "failed." A person has failed at what? Even a retarded kid can't "fail." He or she fails only because we established something called a standard. The student must learn a specific set of skills or he or she doesn't get out, because we think the student's only reason for being in the program is in order to "get out."

LANGUAGE. Language is one of the places where racism shows up. Franz Fanon and others have made analyses a long time ago. I have to stress this as strongly as I know how, because Fanon clearly describes the function of language. He says, if a person has a language, he posseses the entire world that language describes. He supports the weight of the civilization by his language. That's what language is like; that's the nature of language. It's hard for me to understand how an educator who understands this principle would have to be cajoled, pushed, and persuaded to support bilingual education. If we're going to teach, we have to teach a person from where he is. We take him from where he is, where he is in his language. His language is the key to all the experiences that he's had. His language and culture are a whole wealth that provides the basis for learning. In his language, he can relate one thing to another.

I could demonstrate the principle of language very vividly in this room. If I started to give my lesson today in Sanskrit, suddenly you would have no reference points. You're not unintelligent because you don't understand Sanskrit. But if I intend to present anything in Sanskrit, I must start in English where you are, and later I can begin to do some work in Sanskrit and English. Then learning becomes an important thing and not a negative thing. It's simply starting where people are. Why we continue to have to fight so hard to do a fundamental thing that any educator should understand is beyond my comprehension. This is true professional myopia. A pluralistic perspective would have made teaching and learning much easier.

Strategies for Change

PERSONAL RESOURCES. To meet the needs identified above we have to focus on several kinds of strategies. We have to develop personal resources. When school districts begin to respond to the issues that I'm

talking about, they often pick up whatever is immediately available or contact whoever has read something recently. That might mean spending a weekend in Caracas, as if that is magically going to solve all of the bilingual child's problems. If you're talking about the kinds of problems I've mentioned, a weekend in Caracas just won't do it. It might even make the problem worse. Someone else says, let's read some books. Well, that might or might not help. Somebody else says, well, let's do this kind of program or let's have someone (minority) over to dinner or what have you. These approaches may have substance, but it's more likely that they're merely superficial.

I think the area of developing a teacher's personal resources becomes one of the best strategies. That means developing all kinds of resources — acquiring reading materials, making personal contacts, and attending small discussion groups, so that you can exchange opinions and develop vision. It means taking into account the kind of thing that Castaneda was talking about in the education of the young child, to stop the world in some way. The world has to be stopped and things that appear to be must be confronted. Through this process you can develop personal resources. Each teacher has to have a whole set of strategies for developing particular curriculum materials that will enable him or her to confront reality — not simply to do a nice job for ethnic groups. Last year it was Blacks and Chicanos and Asians and Native Americans. This year at a profesional meeting in Chicago ethnic meant Poles, Serbs, and Czechoslovakians. These were the "multicultural" panels. Ethnic groups represented there did not include any of the traditionally oppressed minority groups. This is an example of denial of the real problem. Adding on to the curriculum can go on indefinitely, so that all we end up with is a reference library.

However, if we really do confront reality, we can get out of the unsatisfactory game of taking on small innovations in curriculum here and there. I mean getting down to fundamental fields of study. What is history really? Have we told the truth? The answer is no. We haven't told it in music. We haven't told it in math. We have not told it in science. Most people who deal in multicultural education first and foremost want to go superficially into social science. But you have to examine all curriculum from the perspective I have been talking about. Is it real? Is it truthful? If you do that, you don't have to worry about pluralizing your curriculum. Because reality comes from every part of the globe.

SELF-ASSESSMENTS AND SCHOOL ASSESSMENTS. We have to develop the ability to make self-assessments and school assessments. I gave the example of one of the ways, analyzing the content of school speeches, in which school assessment can happen. Most important of all, to develop a child's self-concept we have to develop the teacher's

self-concept. There's no such thing as promoting a healthy self-concept in children unless the teacher has a healthy self-image. How do you go about making sure that the teacher's self-concept is good? If you do some investigation about who teachers are and about what systems do to teachers, you'll find that teachers are themselves an oppressed group of people who very often do not have healthy self-concepts and don't get a lot of good feedback. That's one reason why teachers oppress students. Supportive measures for both teachers and students have to be developed. That is a goal that has to be addressed by certain strategies. It may not sound like cultural pluralism, but it will take care of cultural pluralism. The person won't feel insecure and won't need to oppress others.

RESISTANCE TO CHANGE. In any strategy, you have to consider the potential for resistance, which will be different for every person who is participating. You have to consider the fact that people will rationalize any positions that they hold. You have to consider the fact that some people are going to feel guilty about doing what they're doing, and guilty about not having done what they should have done. Some people are going to feel angry about having to confront issues. Some will be annoyed about having to take the time. Some people are going to have commitment, and others won't. Some people will have active perception, and some people won't. Some people will be identified with the kids and with the goals, and some people won't. All of these factors require different kinds of treatment and much more carefully planned program than we've usually done when we've talked about cultural pluralism.

Academic Nonreality

One of the things Castaneda talks about in his other book, *A Separate Reality*, is that he had to take drugs — don Juan had to give him drugs. He asked don Juan the question, "Why could I not really see the reality without drugs?" Don Juan said, "Because your body is too stupid." That's the kind of student that our great universities produce, people with stupid bodies and bright minds. People who can function and grasp academic puzzles, but who have no way to solve human problems. This is the *truth*. It is pathetic when you see what emerges from our so-called institutions of higher education. They're really institutions of high miseducation. When people come out, they're often unable to do anything but apply in very narrow ways the few things they've learned.

When I was visiting a major university, one of the top professors questioned an example I had given about the growth of minority students taught through the SEED Project. This is a fantastic project.

The reason that she questioned me was that there was "no literature on it." I said, "Well, that's very interesting, because you're only six blocks away from the demonstration. You know, six blocks away from where they do it all the time. You can walk down the hill and see it." But unless she saw it on paper, it was impossible for her to believe that it actually took place. She could only treat data in that fashion. There's more of that type of nonreality than you'd care to believe, more among the top level than you'd care to believe. I wouldn't make this statement if I didn't think that it was one of the worst problems facing teachers right now — the nonreality that exists in academia.

One of the reasons I quoted Castaneda today is that he is a model of the problem. Don Juan, a Yanqui Indian, is teaching Castaneda, an anthropologist, in the mysteries of confronting knowledge. Don Juan recognizes immediately that he has a Ph.D. anthropologist on his hands, and the only way he can teach this Ph.D. anthropologist anything is first to blow his mind on peyote. (Castaneda had first come to don Juan wanting to investigate peyote.) The only way don Juan could teach Castaneda was to give him so much peyote that it would disorient him, and then maybe he could begin to confront some things that he'd never asked questions about before. It's a beautiful thing, watching this learning process happen — a prototype of what happens to all of us as a product of this system of education in which we happen to be involved.

In connection with my thinking on Castaneda, one verse in Matthew (Ch. 19, v. 24) that keeps coming back to me is the statement that "it's harder for a rich man to get into heaven than it is for a camel to get through the eye of a needle." Since I have nothing against being rich, I always thought that was an unfair position against rich people. I thought a few accumulations shouldn't keep you out of heaven. I certainly couldn't see that a camel could get through the eye of a needle. If you follow that to its logical conclusion, then a rich man can't get into the kingdom of heaven. Again, if you go back to what Castaneda's talking about, it took him ten years to find out what his first question was. He had to write everything down; he couldn't really experience anything unless he wrote it down. The Indians laughed at him all the time, because he had to write down his notes while he was taking peyote.

It's awfully hard for certain people to be perceptive, to get to knowledge. I believe that if you want to know who the people are who *see*, who are most sensitive, they tend to be: (1) most minorities — although not all, nor because they are minorities, but because of the oppressed condition of the minority, pain that causes an awareness to continue; (2) most women; (3) people who've experienced personal tragedies in their lives; (4) people who are handicapped. It's extremely hard for the person who's on top to come to an understanding of what

the ruckus is about. Looking around Palm Springs, can you imagine a revolution in education starting here tomorrow? Why would anyone in the Palm Springs population get up in arms and want to change the school system? It's working, and it's working well for them. "If it works well for me, why can't it work well for everybody else?" It's very hard for people to perceive what those who suffer are all about. It is harder for a rich man to get into heaven than it is for a camel to get through the eye of a needle. That has to be foremost in our minds in terms of our forecast for success for people with whom we intend to work. To the extent that you identify with the rich man — whether you happen to be minority or otherwise — to the extent that you identify with the person who's on top, it becomes harder for you to get into the kingdom of heaven in terms of understanding in teaching.

Stopping the World

I'd like to conclude with another Biblical quote that often recurs to me, especially in terms of reality, getting your hands on something real, seeing what's really going on. "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels and have not charity, I am becoming as a sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal." (I Cor. Ch. 13, v. 1-3) This really sounds like a description of much of what I hear in education today. If you go through journals and look at professional writings, you realize they hang there like sounding brass and tinkling cymbals, though the words are spoken "with the tongues of men and angels."

> *Though I have the gift of prophecy and understand all mysteries and all knowledge and though I have all faith, so that I could move mountains and I have not charity, I am nothing. Though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor and I give my body to be burned, and I have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.*

We really don't want to be teachers under factory conditions. But if the school is only a factory, and if the teachers are only laborers in that factory, then the job is simple. All we have to do is keep some kind of numerical equity in our arbitrary quotas to fit each ethnic group into our scheme; and for each student, just find him or her a place in society. We fill the quotas and we keep the system working. But if we're to help students to see, and if we want to see ourselves, and we want to confront our death so that we can live, then our responsibility is truly to "stop the world."

THE ROLE OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN PROMOTING CULTURAL PLURALISM

Carlos E. Cortes
Dr. Cortes is Associate Professor of History and Chairman of Chicano Studies at the University of California, Riverside.

Introduction

The United States is a culturally pluralistic nation. We are different heights, we are different colors, we are different sexes, we have different accents, we have different socio-economic backgrounds, we come from different national origins, we live in different places, and we have different beliefs and values. Pluralism is here to stay. Schools not only must recognize this, but they also must deal with cultural pluralism as a functional reality. They must develop the capacity for working with students of varying cultural backgrounds, and they must develop an effective educational process for preparing all students to live in a culturally pluralistic future.

We need to begin by building among educators and students an understanding of the meaning of groups and how they function in our society. Educators who refuse to deal honestly with the reality of groups in our society are selling students a bill of goods. They are preparing our young people for a nonexistent, groupless world and a never-to-be, groupless future.

Groups

When in elementary and high school, I was taught that all people were equal and everyone had the same rights and opportunities. A good citizen was someone who voted on election day, because every voter has an equal influence on government through the ballot box. But I will tell you something. If everyone in this room made a solemn pact to vote the same way in every election from here on, we still would not have as much political clout as the presidents of the country's seven largest airlines or as much governmental influence as the presidents of the nation's nine largest oil companies.

One of the reasons that these industry presidents function so effectively and wield so much influence is that they recognize that they are a group — a very select group with common interests, goals, and

dangers. This natural, recognized, and admitted groupness enables them to work more successfully for their common interests. Schools train students for nonfunctionality unless they teach them the meaning of groups and their significance for the operation of our society.

I am not preaching divisionism. Not by any means. Too many educators have consciously avoided teaching about groups, especially ethnic groups, because of the mistaken belief that such study necessarily *creates* divisiveness. Ridiculous! Groups are a social reality. Years of excluding multicultural group study from the school curriculum has not made these divisions disappear. Quite the opposite of creating divisions, a solid, sensitive, well-conceived program of study of groups and intergroup relations is one of our nation's greatest hopes for reducing group divisiveness while striving for social justice.

Nor does the study of groups undermine the recognition of each person's individuality. Rather it adds another dimension to the understanding of individuality — an understanding of the effect on an individual that may result from that person's membership (voluntary or involuntary) in a variety of groups. No person belongs to *a* group. Each individual belongs simultaneously to many groups — sex, age, economic, social, geographic, cultural, and ethnic, to name a few. At various moments in our lives, our group memberships influence how we act. Group membership sets limitations and provides opportunities. An important result of good multicultural, intergroup education is for students to learn to understand what group membership may mean to themselves and to others. This better understanding of self and others is a basic foundation for constructive citizenship.

Four Goals

This brings me to the critical qustions that we must face. Why are we here today? Why are we in education? And as staff trainers, when you start training your staffs, for what purposes are you training them? I would like to suggest four goals for all education, but particularly education as it relates to cultural pluralism. Any educational system that does not work toward these four goals is not meeting its obligations to its students or to our society.

Overall, the primary responsibility of the educational system is to build better citizens. I am not talking about cranking out the flag-waving, slogan-shouting kind of citizens. I am talking about training students who can contribute socially to their communities, our nation, and to the world.

BASIC SKILLS. First, schools must help students develop basic skills,

principally the oft-cited reading, writing, and arithmetic. And while I am at it, I want to emphasize that there is no intrinsic conflict between eduation in basic skills and multicultural education. Quite the contrary. Imaginatively and sensitively introduced, multicultural education can be a boon to basic skills education. The use of materials with interesting ethnic content can provide the impetus for the learning of basic skills — among students of all backgrounds. And what a double benefit for students and for society! At the same time that they learn basic skills, students can learn about each other.

Self- and Intergroup Understanding

The second goal of education should be to help students develop better self- and intergroup understanding. I did not say tolerance, please note. I do not think we should teach tolerance — the blind acceptance of anybody or any group, no matter what they do. We should not, for example, teach tolerance of Adolf Hitler, of others who have committed mass atrocities, or of the giant narcotics combines. Schools must challenge blind intolerance, but shold not try to replace it with equally blind tolerance. Schools should work toward building understanding — the understanding by students of the experiences and cultures of the groups from which they come or belong, and the understanding of the experiences and cultures of groups from which others come or belong.

Commitment

But understanding, alone, is morally arid. If you "understand" another group, you have the weapons to harm, exploit, oppress, or discriminate against it. Which brings us to the necessary third major goal of education — to develop commitment to the building of a better nation and a better world for all. This is critical. If we do not orient the educational process toward this goal, we run the risk of creating a nation of skillful, amoral people with lots of knowledge about each other that they can use to take advantage of each other. So creating moral commitment to building a better society for all must be a central part of our educational process.

Skills to Build a Better Society

Finally, schools should help provide students with the skills to build a better society. It depresses me to see deeply moral people who are committed to helping their fellow human beings, yet lack the skills to contribute effectively to constructive societal change. Lacking these skills, they spend countless hours in well-intentioned but ineffective

action with little significant impact. I am not referring here to the basic skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic. I am talking about societal skills, such as critical analysis, the understanding of governmental processes, a grasp of economic realities, a solid conception of the meaning and function of power, a capacity for logical decision-making, and a realization of the potentialities and limits for different kinds of individual and group action.

Unless we have an educational process that builds basic skills, self and intergroup understanding, moral commitment, and societal skills to back up that moral commitment, we will not turn out fully effective citizens. With these four goals in mind, I would like to present some ideas for use in your staff training and curriculum with the goal of helping to create this kind of citizen.

Unidirectional History: Political

First, go back to your schools and break every compass in the building — or at least those one-directional, east-to-west compasses that have guided American education. Look at your school's textbooks on U.S. history, literature, art, architecture, or what have you. Are they ruled by an east-to-west compass? I would bet on it. Education in America is based on the ethnocentric view that the United States is a strictly unidirectional product of civilization which spread from Western Europe across the Atlantic to the east coast of what is today the United States and then west to the Pacific. The underlying rationale for this frame of reference is for the most part *political* — the idea that the development of America should be viewed as a process which occurred in an east-to-west direction *within* the national political boundaries of the United States. At best, most books and curricula on U.S. history, society, and culture give only token recognition to the development of cultures in America prior to the coming of the European, the growth of the Native American, Hispanic, and Mexican civilizations *before* the U.S. conquest of their territory, and the flow of civilizations into the United States other than east-to-west from Europe.

Multidirectional History: Geocultural

I would like to present an alternative to this distorting unidirectional approach to the study of the United States. The rationale for this alternative is *geocultural* instead of political. Rather than look just at the political United States, our educational system must deal *consistently* with the development of the *entire* geocultural area that ultimately became a part of the United States — the *total* American experience. Moreover, the flow of cultures into the United States must be viewed multidirectionally, with the rich diversity that resulted for our nation. Let us teach about America as a geocultural area and focus

on the historical-cultural development of that entire area both before and after the coming of the American flag. How do we do that?

When you teach about Native Americans, do not teach about them only as they were just before or after the coming of the Europeans, but include the long development of Native American civilizations so that students gain an understanding of the history of the Native American people who created cultures on this continent before Europeans arrived. And while teaching about the east-to-west migration of Europeans across the Atlantic into what is today the eastern United States, also look at the east-to-west migration from Spain and Portugal into what is today Latin America. Talk about the southeast-to-northwest migration of Black people from Africa, the west-to-east migration of Asian people into the United States, and the south-to-north migration of Mexican people into what is today the United States both before and after the U.S. got there. If we teach about the United States in a multidirectional manner, students will learn to view the U.S. as a multidirectional product of many migrations and not just a unidirectional east-to-west nation. If we do not use this approach, then ethnic minority groups will enter the U.S. story in only two forms — as *obstacles* to the expansion of westward-moving Anglo-American civilization or as *social problems* which must be corrected or at least kept under control.

Multiethnic Curricula

In applying the geocultural concept, teach about cultures developing simultaneously all over the United States. When you talk about migrations into America, talk about the various migrations which were occurring during the same era. When you teach about colonial interethnic relations, talk not only about interethnic relations in the east, but also about interethnic relations among Spaniards, Mexicans, and Native Americans in the west. When you put together a course on U.S. literature, while you are teaching students about colonial American literature (Anglo and Black), also introduce, at the same time, literary developments in the west. For example, have students read Gaspar Perez de Villagra's epic poem about Spanish colonization of New Mexico and Native American oral poetry of that era (now collected in numerous anthologies). When you discuss colonial era families, do not just talk about New England families, also talk about Black families, Mexican families in the west, and Native American families.

These are simply a few examples of the application of the geocultural concept. You should build the entire curriculum so that students learn to see cultures and civilizations evolving simultaneously as part of the ultimate building of the larger American civilization.

In this way students can understand what it means when these cultures and societies ultimately meet — clashing, fusing, coexisting. They can then begin to understand why the United States has developed the way it has, and they can better understand each other.

Another thing schools must do is help students learn to walk around and look at things from perspectives other than their own — from the perspectives of different ethnic and cultural groups. I am reminded of that Native American saying, "Nobody can really understand me until he has walked a mile in my moccasins." Do schools give students the experience of walking in each other's moccasins? Rarely. And until they do, we will not be able to build the necessary kind of understanding or moral commitment.

Let us take one event as an example of how you can introduce multiethnic perspectives into the classroom. Let us take the Cherokee removal — the U.S. government's forced movement of the Cherokees (as well as Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and other Native Americans) from their homes in the south to the western United States.

Take a look at the American history textbooks you are using in your own schools and see how they handle the Cherokee removal. They almost certainly treat it — if they discuss it at all — from one of a number of Anglo (dominant society) perspectives. Some books take the position that Indians were obstructing the westward expansion of American civilization and had to be moved so that Anglo-Americans could migrate west. Other books express shame at U.S. injustices through this forced removal and indicate that the government should continue to make compensation. Other books admit that the Cherokee removal was unjust, but hold that as it happened long ago and the clock cannot be turned back, contemporary Anglos should not be forced to shoulder the guilt for events which occurred more than a century ago.

Now look at these U.S. history textbooks and see how many of them present this same event from the perspectives of American ethnic groups. What did the "removed" Indians think — what were the varieties of opinions about the removal among Cherokees, Choctaws, and others? What did the western Native Americans think when they saw eastern Indians being moved onto *their* land? How did Black people perceive this forced movement of another "colored" population? I have never seen this in a U.S. history textbook. How did northern Mexicans (soon to be conquered and annexed into the United States) view this massive forced population movement? This is another perspective that has not made it into our general surveys. You can take any event, any issue, or any phenomenon, walk around it, and look at it as different ethnic groups viewed it or might have viewed it. *That* is building understanding.

Multicultural Education for All Americans

Students should not study only the perspectives of the different ethnic groups represented in their school or classroom. Young people (and not so young people) all over the country are influenced in their attitudes and beliefs about ethnic groups by television, by movies, by newspapers, by their parents, by their peer groups, and by other opinion-molders. Young people come to school with already developed misconceptions and prejudices about ethnic groups, and schools must struggle against these deleterious ideas. Students in the rural midwest who may never have seen a Black, a Mexican American, or an Asian American in person need culturally pluralistic education as badly as students in schools which are multi-ethnic. Why? Because all students are part of the same society, the United States. Multicultural education is a necessity for every American, because every American will someday be involved in making decisions affecting ethnic groups in our culturally pluralistic nation.

Ethnic Groups Are Not Homogeneous

Let us also be sure that our schools do not fall into another trap — the trap of teaching about ethnic groups as being homogeneous. Too many books and curricula do just that — treat each ethnic group as following a single, stereotyped historical-cultural pattern. Certainly students need to understand what it *may* mean to be of different ethnic backgrounds, but at the same time, students should not learn to expect that everyone of a particular ethnic background *must* live according to all of the "traditional characteristics" of that group. *That* is stereotyping.

Each ethnic group has significant, unifying historical experiences and cultural patterns, of which students should develop an understanding. However, while teaching about the commonalities within each ethnic group, the educator must also explore the great internal diversity of each ethnic experience. Ethnic cultures must not be viewed as uniform, static, and frozen, but rather as diverse, dynamic, and continuously changing in different directions and in different ways.

Ethnic Groups Are Not Social Problems

Moreover, we must stop teaching about ethnic groups as being social problems. There is no such thing as the Black problem; there is no such thing as the Chicano problem; there is no such thing as the woman's problem. Society is the problem, and the basic problems of our society differentially affect people of different backgrounds.

Is the group the problem or is society the problem? This is not academic hairsplitting. This is an issue with critical educational

implications. If students are directed to look upon ethnic groups as problems, they are going to learn to function one way, and if they learn to look upon society as the problem, they are going to function another way. If we have teachers who look at ethnic students as problems because they consider their group to be a problem, they will deal with them differently than if they consider society the problem. Society includes the educational system, which has historically failed to deal sensitively and successfully with the ethnic and cultural differences of students.

The constant classroom reference to and textbook depiction of ethnic groups as problems has disastrous consequences for student self-image and intergroup understanding. How long can ethnic students be expected to experience their group being designated a "problem" before this repetition creates a negative self-image? And what are the long-range effects of this same repetition on Anglo students in convincing them to view ethnic people as problems? The sooner educators break the habit of treating or referring to ethnic groups as problems and start dealing with the *real* problem — the inequities of society — the sooner we will begin to make significant progress toward the educating of sensitive, understanding, committed, and effective citizens.

Cultural Pluralism Is a Social Reality

The ideas I have presented are only indicative of the kinds of changes we need in our schools in order to help build better citizens for the future. Ours is an ever-changing, increasingly complex society in an ever-changing, increasingly complex, and constantly more interdependent world. Cultural pluralism is and will always be a societal reality. Schools must gear up to prepare students to live more effectively in this pluralistic nation and in this rapidly changing world. Anything less than total commitment to this goal is unconscionable. Let us all do our part to help build that better nation and that better world.

ASSESSMENT OF NEEDS FOR ACHIEVING A CULTURALLY PLURALISTIC ENVIRONMENT

James Deslonde
Dr. Deslonde is Assistant Professor of Education, Stanford University.

Introduction

The districts I have worked with so far are unique in terms of the kinds of information or data they want from a needs assessment. As a result, it seems unlikely to me that a single formula for conducting a needs assessment will be applicable to all situations. There are several desirable approaches that might be taken, depending on your special situation. I can, however, provide a blueprint for a needs assessment that seems to be generalizable to districts planning desegregating, or may be helpful to districts that are instituting multicultural programs. In addition, this blueprint will aid districts in making decisions about how money should be spent, or which resources should be allocated to which particular programs.

From Segregation to Cultural Pluralism

I view desegregation as a process that is constantly occurring. Therefore, one needs an overall view of events before a needs assessment can be planned. Part of a needs assessment is identifying and describing the most ideal conditions a district wants to work toward. I will attempt to describe the desegregation process within a framework helpful for conducting a needs assessment, as well as discuss those ideal conditions. For most districts that are considering desegregation, or are devising plans, or have been desegregated, I think there are six main stages in the process. You should be aware of these stages when you begin planning and thinking about a needs assessment.

SEPARATISM. I've labeled the first phase *separatism*, a voluntary separation of children from one another (often in opposition to the goals of the district) so that schools are organized along racial or ethnic lines. The key here is that separatism is voluntary; parts of the community are opting not to continue with the education the school district is offering. Separatism is a viable and very real process in most districts that have a sizable number of people of color.

SEGREGATION. Another stage is *segregation*, an involuntary separation of ethnic groups in schools, in housing, in jobs, and in access to opportunities in the community. Even when the schools are changing, the community should be concerned about the other manifestations of segregation, because they do affect education.

DESEGREGATION. The term *desegregation* simply refers to the physical rearrangement in the communities of children that have not been previously attending school together. It is a matter of logistics; children are bused and certain percentages of races and ethnic groups are approximated in the schools. During the early stages of desegregation, most school districts spend their time on desegregation processes. When districts are rearranging students, little concern over programs or the quality of curriculum is expressed.

POST-DESEGRATION. When districts rearrange youngsters that have not previously attended school together, they begin to realize that simply putting children side by side does not solve many of the problems of unequal education. Districts then begin looking at curriculum, teacher training, cost effectiveness; they begin to examine the school system from top to bottom. What usually follows are numerous changes attempting to create some form or symbol of equality in educational opportunity. When a district starts this kind of planning, it's moving into a stage I've labeled *post-desegregation.*

The early response to pressure for change in a district usually results in a redefinition of the "problem;" the district is still feeling its way around concerning the problems of children of color. Usually the first section of the curriculum to change is social studies. An ethnic studies course will be placed here or there, and usually those courses will address the ethnic groups present in the district. If there are Chicanos in the district, then a Chicano studies course will be added. The changes that take place in the post-desegregation stage are mainly incremental or crisis-related.

INTEGRATION. Eventually, as the district begins making more and more changes to effect equality of educational opportunities, the realization develops that if the social studies curriculum is changed, eventually other parts of the curriculum must change. When interrelated change of this type occurs, a district is moving into the stage called *integration.* Integration is the stage where the substantive problems of inequality in education are beginning to be discussed openly, and changes are made in light of that discussion.

CULTURAL PLURALISM. Once a district judges, through assessment or evaluation, that they are moving toward a solution to the identified

problems of inequality, the district is moving into a stage I've labeled *cultural pluralism*. It is this last stage that I'd like to discuss in some depth.

Operationalizing Cultural Pluralism

Very often district planners will ask how to determine where their district is. They ask, "Are we in the desegregation part of the process, or are we in the post-desegregation stage?" To answer these questions, I've attempted to define each stage of the process in operational terms. Defining in operational terms means identifying the type of process that can be observed as you walk through a district, or that can be very easily assessed.

SEPARATISM. If separatism is occurring, parts of the community will have separated with the rationale that they want increased emphasis on building academic skills. They have lost confidence that the school system can give their youngsters the academic skills required for them to become independent citizens. There will be increased emphasis on developing academic skill; cultural or racial identity will usually be emphasized; ethnic studies may be emphasized to a certain extent; and an analysis of inequality in the U.S. will either be implied or emphasized. How do academic skills, preparation of one's self, and one's self-identity fit into the whole scheme of racial inequality in this country? There will be a real search in school activities to match education with the community's cultural style. If it's a Chicano area, the district will try to devise a program that matches the cultural style of the Chicano community; if it's an Asian community, the district will try to match curriculum to the cultural styles of the Asian.

SEGREGATION. I think most of us are familiar with the second stage and how it operates. It usually begins with a kind of irresponsibility — no one will take the blame for segregated schools. When school boards are blamed, they claim they are not responsible. The response is familar: segregation is the fault of housing patterns, job discrimination, or a host of other factors in the community. It's very difficult to pinpoint at this stage *who is* responsible for segregated schools.

DESEGREGATION. In most cases, desegregation will result as compliance with a court order. Very few districts have desegregated voluntarily. To move out of segregation into desegregation is not an easy thing for many school districts to accomplish, so the courts have to assist and sometimes deter the conservative elements in the community.

POST-DESEGREGATION. When a district begins complying with court

School Change Level	SEPARATISM	SEGREGATION	DESEGREGATION	POST-DESEGREGATION	INTEGRATION	CULTURAL PLURALISM
Activities	Increased academic skill development emphasis, racial and cultural identity thrust, ethnic studies, reaffirmation and analysis of inequality in U.S. through organized curriculum, a search for an educational program "matched" to community cultural styles.	Irresponsibility and denial of the evolving program to justification of inequality because of society (supported by school district evaluation). Remedial, compensatory and enrichment of minority students, other related activities to maintain the status quo of separation without choice.	Compliance with court-mandated and Federal guidelines, rearrangement of pupils and teachers, low-level inservice training in "sensitivity" to the disadvantaged child, counseling and modification of the child to fit the unchanged school environment, preliminary ethnic study activities.	Increased activity focused on the Third World child, ethnic studies, special skill-development programs, inclusion of cultural awareness, modification of social studies curriculum, new commercial tests and teaching materials, heavy emphasis on diagnosing and assessing skill levels of children.	Achievement "problem" being tackled resulting in revised evaluation techniques, increased in-service training, curriculum development. Low-level school-community involvement, ethnic studies, and academic subject area content modified to reflect growing cultural inclusion, some nontraditional content and strategies tried, individualization of instruction, learning centers, alternative organizational patterns tested.	Achievement "problem" solved, revised evaluation techniques operative, new curricular materials and outside cultural resources used, community involvement operative, alternatives operative, cultural differences emphasized, social analysis skills taught, value analysis taught, experimentation with nontraditional content and rearrangement of academic content, role redefinition, cooperation skills taught. New institutional goals emerge.

TABLE 1: *Multicultural Field Activities (Micro Analysis)*

orders, they are moving into the second stage of desegregation, which is usually accompanied by a low-level of inservice training. One or two district-wide inservice days to prepare teachers for the desegregation plan may be offered. These sessions may attempt to make teachers more sensitive to the needs of children of color; there may be discussions about the disadvantaged child; there may be talk of modifying the counseling program in the high schools. These early attempts will try to fit the child to the school environment — *to change the child to match the school.*

CULTURAL PLURALISM. When activities begin to focus on *changing the schools to accommodate the children,* a district is moving into cultural pluralism. If a district is really serious about trying to create equal educational opportunities, then it has to create a concept of education that goes beyond the mere process of desegregation. The district must stretch its imagination and its goals to the far reaching, futuristic conditions it wants to work toward. A district must aspire to create the kind of educational program that inspires and reeducates its constituents. We've run out of inspirational messages in education recently; but if we think about cultural pluralism, it can become our long-range goal.

I've very often posed the question to teachers, administrators, other school personnel, and many graduate students at Stanford: What is a culturally pluralistic environment in a school?

ACHIEVEMENT AND TESTING. One characteristic of a culturally plural educational environment is that there will be no so-called achievement problem. We don't yet know how achievement will be measured in a culturally pluralistic school district. Much research is beginning to develop on learning styles (which seem to be influenced by a child's cultural background). It may be premature at this point to say that the achievement problem will be solved when all groups are achieving equally, or when there is a normal distribution of achievement across all ethnic groups.

One thing we do know is that when you look at achievement data, you should not be able to identify children by ethnicity on any achievement test scores. However, this is the function of testing, and we are not yet able to specify what testing should look like in five years. In any case, test data should not look like it does now. A district that has reached the stage of developing a culturally pluralistic environment will have solved the achievement problem in some way, perhaps by revising evaluation techniques. I believe we will have new alternatives to determine various levels of achievement in children.

NEW CURRICULA. Entirely new curriculum materials will be

available in a culturally pluralistic school. For instance, I believe that the way we've organized junior and senior schools according to academic disciplines is outmoded. In a culturally pluralistic school, I'm sure we will not have a math or an English or a biology department. There may be new ways of organizing academic disciplines in order to offer various kinds of alternatives to youngsters. Outside cultural resources may be used extensively. The resources in the community will begin to be available in the school environment, and one may have a hard time trying to distinguish between the educational function of a classroom and the educational function of community agencies or community people.

CULTURAL DIFFERENCES. There should be heavy emphasis on cultural differences, which we as a nation have been previously afraid to face. We may begin to inquire into the stages of human development which bring about differences that make us unique along racial, ethnic, and individual lines.

SOCIAL-ANALYSIS SKILLS. There should be emphasis on developing social-analysis skills in youngsters. If social problems are going to be reduced in any way, we must begin training youngsters in school to be solvers of massive social problems. The only way this can be accomplished is to systematically teach youngsters social analysis and problem-solving skills.

VALUES. There should also be an emphasis on values. We are moving into an era where individual differences, group differences, racial differences, all of the differences that we as a society are grappling with have social value. Unless we have more information and insight about how our values are affected by processes in society, we will not be able to control processes — the processes will begin controlling us. One way of being able to predict and control events in society is to have a firm grasp of the value bases of why we behave as we do. That concept has to be taught in our schools. One can't consider an educational program culturally pluralistic without systematic emphasis on how values are formed and how we can develop insight into value formation.

Assessing The Need

I think certain goals or criteria in the school environment should be the same for all students, even though individual and ethnic-group differences would be encouraged (see Table 2). The goals listed in Table 2 are minimum goals that could be selected by a district which would then set its own criteria level of acceptance. Measures of each

MEASURE	GOAL
Anxiety-Level	The new environment should be warm, comfortable, and supportive of the student.
Alienation	Feelings of alienation from school should be low and not incident to any particular ethnic group disproportionate to their presence in the total school population.
Aspirations/ Expectations for Academic and Occupational Attainment	There should be an accurate assessment of the social structure and opportunity structure of society
Teacher Expectations, Attitudes	The expectations of teachers and other adults do not stultify or negatively affect student performance and attitude development.
Academic Participation	All students should participate equally in school academics.
Academic Self-Concept	All students should perceive of themselves as capable, competent individuals.
Interpersonal Conflict Sources	There should be a low level of interpersonal conflict; youngsters should be actively involved in constructive, positive means to resolve such conflict.
Use of Materials	Frequent use of multiculturally oriented curricular materials and content.
Peer Interaction	Interracial, inter-ethnic friendships should be forming.
Academic Achievement	Significant differences among ethnic groups should not exist on any achievement measures.

TABLE 2: *Minimum District Goals for Conducting A Needs Assessment*

goal before program planning or program intervention as compared against the pre-selected criteria should reveal the gap or need. The measures may also be taken at intervals as evaluative measures of program effectiveness.

Assessments using the goals listed in Table 2 would proceed along five major steps:

1. Define cultural pluralism in measurable terms (goals).
2. Measure the "now" — where the district presently exists in achieving these goals.
3. Determine gap or need.
4. Develop intervention strategy and programs based on need.
5. Take measures at pre-determined intervals.

This approach to needs assessment allows each district to define cultural pluralism in its own terms (criteria level) and to develop plans and programs based on sound, measurable goals.

A PERSPECTIVE ON CALIFORNIA INDIANS

Lowell John Bean
Dr. Bean is Chairman of the Department of Anthropology at California State University, Hayward.

Introduction

I've been concerned for a long time about the way that information has been passed down about California Indians. Sixteen years ago, while I was a graduate student at UCLA, one of my professors was writing a chapter of a book on the Native Americans in that area. He decided to send one of his graduate students to find out what was going on in an Indian community where no one had done any work for 30 or 40 years. I thought this would be an interesting way to spend the summer, and I would learn how to do some anthropology. Later I could go somewhere else in the world, as most anthropologists do, and study a really significant, important and exotic culture. Studying California Indians would only be a means for me to learn my craft, and then I could go on to bigger and better things. I went out to the field with no real preparation and, as is usual in a university, no one told me what to expect.

What I found was a fascinating people and culture, an experience that literally changed the rest of my life. I saw that a tremendous need existed for research about the history of California Indians. I heard from everyone, but especially the intellectuals of the tribe, that anthropologists had misinterpreted them, had studied them superficially, had written many incorrect things about them, and had certainly not addressed their studies to the needs and the conditions of the people as they existed today.

When I went back to UCLA and talked to fellow graduate students, it came through loud and clear to me that Western Indians were again being given short shrift. Everyone told me, "You're never going to make it as a professional if you waste your time with these people." The attitude of many seemed to be that Indian culture didn't present anything worth studying, or that there was not a significant enough professional pay-off for a serious scholar to spend much time studying California Indians.

Those days have changed. Anthropologists now realize that a wealth of knowledge and information exists in Indian culture. After 16

years of working, I've met many persons who are now beginning to get materials in print that will change the curriculum available to you.

Myths, Distortions, and Errors

When I started teaching, I began with courses in North American Indians, California Indians, Archaeology of North America, and so forth. I soon discovered that I had another shock coming. After teaching a semester in a college classroom and giving tests to students, I found that many of the same distortions, myths, and foolishness that had been in the popular mind about American Indians were coming back to me on tests. I began to wonder why. At about the same time, I became involved with the American Indian Historical Society. They asked me to review a book called *California Indian Days* by Helen Bauer. I'd read it before as an anthropologist, but this time I looked at it as someone who was concerned with what was being taught to children. I realized that it was one of the most wretched books I'd ever read. I found numerous ethnographic errors, distortions of fact, misinterpretations, and numerous sins of omission. I proceeded to develop a method of semantic analysis, analyzed it, and wrote an article about that book as a case study (which appeared in the *Indian Historian*, published by The American Indian Historical Society, San Francisco). The publisher fought us, and we were almost sued. We staged a demonstration and had some impact on the use of that book in public schools.

Several years later, in 1971, I was asked to serve on the Governor's Task Force in curriculum studies of social science books. Many scholars were to sit down together and analyze the books presented for adoption that year. That experience crystallized my feeling that what we are doing in this conference today is important. The Task Force spent a tremendous amount of professional and personal time on the task. We discovered that out of many books, only three met the California legal code. We argued vigorously, presented tough recommendations to the State Board of Education (some of you may remember) and won a battle, but not the war. That last battle still has to be fought.

The problem we have to face in dealing with education about American Indians is a serious one. We can say, almost without reservation, that no book available to you or your teachers can be relied upon to give correct information about Native Americans. We can also say that texts are invariably full of stereotypes and incorrect images of Indian peoples. Why has this come about? There are a number of reasons, and one of the reasons is negligence in my own discipline. Anthropology hasn't paid much attention to its professional responsibility by addressing its skills to public school text-

books. The academicians sit in the university assuming that children's books and graded school books are beneath their dignity. This failure to influence textbooks also happens because we write and publish materials for journals that don't reach elementary and high school teachers. (We're trying to rectify our past negligence through conferences such as this.) Another reason is that anthropologists themselves, until just a few years ago, didn't have the methodology, the experience, and the insight to understand how complex American Indian cultures are. Consequently, in California, Nevada, and in other Western states, we have had passed down from the days of the earliest Spanish chroniclers until today, the image that Western Indians are poor, that they have a low level of cultural achievement, that they do not develop as high levels of civilization as other Indians, and so forth. Anthropologists have addressed their attention to certain tribes — Iroquois, Pueblo, and Navaho — and these tribes are dealt with in almost every textbook. They become the image, the stereotype, of the American Indian.

California Indians

California Indians got a bad shake from the beginning, in part because the people writing about them had a vested interest in what was being said. Our historians have written about Native Californians in a manner to justify "manifest destiny" in America, whites moving across a continent and conquering other peoples as they moved. When people oppress other people, they usually justify it by saying that the oppressed don't have a culture as highly developed as their own, or they don't have a political system, or they don't have a religious system that is worthy of consideration. All of these ideas sifted into our academic literature, as well as our popular literature. When teachers take a course in California history today, they are likely to read five or six pages of material about California Indians, most of which is taken out of the book written in 1925, one which is now 50 years old! The source might be *The Handbook of the Indians of California* by Alfred Kroeber, a man who did a great deal of work with Indians at the time, but did not himself understand how complex their cultures were.

In our small-group session on American Indians, I will give you a workbook that presents specific information about ideas I want to share with you now. I'd like to impress upon you that our knowledge about Native Americans is vastly expanding, as is our knowledge about many other groups. One of the most significant discoveries is that Western Indians, California Indians in particular, were among the most complex native peoples with a hunting and gathering culture known to man. We are finding that Native Californians were

completely different from the stereotype that is in every fourth-grade textbook. Let me give you some specifics.

Agriculture

It is generally said that Western Indians (or American Indians with a few exceptions) were not agriculturalists. This statement isn't true. What Western Indians didn't have was the specific type of agriculture used by Europeans. California Indians manipulated the environment in all of the forms and fashions that we define as agriculture. They pruned trees, irrigated land, replanted crops, and burned off land to increase crop production, increase animal and bird populations, and such. They had a very keen knowledge of their environment. A man with a Ph.D. in ecology or biology could go to any reservation in California today and talk with an older Indian having perhaps a fourth-grade formal education; although they may use different words, those two men will speak the same language. Native Californians have a systems approach built into their philosophy. It's built into their mythology. Every California Indian is brought up with a scientific attitude about nature similar to one that the biological sciences only brought into formal, academic literature 30 to 40 years ago.

Medicine

The American Indian's expertise in medicine provides us with another example. At the time of European contact, as Virgil Vogel has pointed out in *American Indian Medicine*, American Indians were more advanced in many areas of medicine than were Europeans. Their surgery was cleaner, and they understood the need for hygienic medical procedures. They had developed complex surgery. Their medical procedures for psychiatry, childbirth, women's diseases, respiratory diseases, and many other health areas were far more advanced than European practices. Although we often forget, much of our medical knowledge came directly from Native American men and women, especially in the realm of medicinal plants.

Social Organization

The Indians' social organization was also very complex. We tend to hear the Western Indians described as small groups of people living in bands and villages. Small villages and bands certainly existed, as do small towns in our own system. But the California Indians had levels of socio-political organization that are analogous to our counties and states; they had international trade agreements; they had international treaties between tribes; they had elite groups whose social networks cut across many tribes — international elites, as exist in our

society today. The best analogue I've found to describe Native Californians' socio-political organization has been the societies in prenationalistic Europe. I've looked at the literature of that age, the period before all the fiefdoms in France were brought under one national leader. When you look at the social structure, the class system, the economic system, and the ritual of that time and place, you will find them analogous to the American Indian socio-political development. Most Indians were approaching and some tribes, such as the Iroquois confederacy and the tribes of the Colorado River, achieved the status of true nation states. The Yuman Indians of the Colorado River reached a dynastic or empire-like state of social development, which undoubtedly would have expanded had European contact not interfered with its progress.

Oral Literature

The oral literature of the American Indian is now being examined by scholars of comparative literature. They recognize that Native American oral literature is comparable to Greek mythology, *Beowulf*, and the Hindu Vedas. Indians developed a very rich poetic tradition. We didn't know about the literature for a long time, because people weren't studying it; they weren't comparing it with their own culture.

Ritual Systems

The ritual systems of the American Indian are of interest to many people. We've become very interested in the Indian's view of the supernatural and how he or she sees relationships to the rest of the universe. The ritual systems of Native Americans are extremely complex and are integrated with all other aspects of their culture. For example, one of the ways in which resources in California were redistributed from one area to another was to set up ritual rules. Tribes had to invite Indians from other geographic areas to their rituals; the visitors would bring surpluses from their own rituals to be redistributed. It was like a banking system. One of the reasons Native Californians lived so well was because they had many sophisticated mechanisms by which resources from various areas could be redistributed. For example, a group in Fresno would have access to resources in Santa Barbara, to resources from the other side of the Tehachipi Mountains, to resources from across the Sierras, and perhaps as far north as San Francisco. We know that professional Indian traders went up and down the State bringing goods back and forth. This is one of the reasons why Native Californians were not demonstrably a militaristic or warlike people. Textbooks are always pointing out that Native Californians were peaceable. This statement is inaccurate and incomplete. First, California Indians like most

people did wage war when they needed to. The main reason they didn't do it often is because they had such a well-balanced, reciprocal trade system and political exchange between tribes that warfare would have been generally dysfunctional. Second, there is a myth that certain other Native Americans were militaristic (e.g., the Plains Indians). The plains warfare may really have been a result of the effects of Europeans moving from the East Coast to the West Coast. As the Europeans would displace one group, their presence usually led to warfare between Indians and whites and also tribes who were trying to survive.

Indians' Contributions to American History

Other areas where the Californian and other Western Indians are left out of literature are in discussions about their contribution to American history and their contributions today. Within a hundred miles of here [Fresno] there are probably half-a-dozen reservations with significant Indian populations. You're sitting right in the middle of the Yokuta Indian region. These people had one of the richest and best documented cultures among North American Indians. They played a very important part in the historical development of the San Joaquin Valley. At one time they controlled most of it. Until recently, California history books presented one chapter on Indians followed by a superficial treatment of the Spanish-Mexican period. The history books suggest that as soon as the missions arrived, the Indians disappeared. Well, that wasn't true. The only part of California controlled by Europeans was a narrow strip along the coast. Europeans didn't control many areas of California until the 1860s, and some Native Californians were still autonomous nations until that time. But these facts are ignored in most history books. Indian culture contributed heavily to our California heritage. For example, the Gabrielino language, the Indian language of the peoples in Los Angeles, was the *lingua france* in Los Angeles during the Spanish-Mexican period. As many people spoke the Indian language as spoke Spanish. Textbooks, however, don't tell you such facts. The Europeans, who were using many Indian artifacts, had to pass laws to prevent themselves from "ripping off" Indian people. Native Americans provided not only labor, which is what we usually know about, but also administrative skills in running Spanish and Mexican California and early American California. Many of the cultural heroes of the Spanish-Mexican period were not really Spanish or Mexican people, but California Indians who became hispanicized. The Indians have been constantly moving back and forth between populations and cultures. When they move in, they are no longer classified as Indians. Knowledge of the contribution to history is lost.

California Indians Today

Indians are still an important factor in California life. There are about 60 reservations. Indians own and utilize a large amount of land, most of it under Federal trust. That land is important to all of us as citizens. It's important to us in terms of our concerns for ecology. This land is going to be economically developed in the future. Native Californians are going to have a tremendous impact in a few years time, because they're getting involved in the mainstream of economic life, and they're getting organized. Some reservations have as much as 30,000 acres of land. Indians are developing recreational areas, which others will also be using. On some reservations factories are being built that are going to provide income and labor for us, as well as them.

Cultural Pluralism — The Survival of California Indians

Indian culture is important for another reason. In our concern with cultural pluralism and the processes and dynamics of people working with one another, we see in American Indians, as we see in other groups, a whole set of mechanisms by which people maintain ethnicity, cultural values, backgrounds, and positive self-image. At the same time, Indians work, adapt, function, and integrate with other populations. The California Indian has given us amazing models of cultural persistence. Consider their history; they've been here the longest and have been the most oppressed. They were victims of genocide. People told them they had no culture, but they kept it. They were victims of European diseases that wiped out 60 to 70 percent of the population. They were the mute slaves of Californians. I can read you a document without telling you who it's about, and you would swear it's about Black slaves in the South, but it's about Native Californians in 1861. The instructions to an Indian agent defined the relationship of a slave to a master. Indians were subjected to genocidal procedures that rarely get into textbooks. I spent part of the summer at the National Archives, and it was really a shocking experience. As an anthropologist, I had always assumed that the greatest loss of life among California Indians was due to European diseases, but that is not true. Indians were simply killed off. Armies of people (mostly civilians) went out and shot Indians just to get them off the land. That was the fate of most of the California Indians.

Despite this tragic history, which every older Indian knows and can relate to you, Native Americans are still able to integrate successfully and positively into our system. In addition to their cultural heritage, which is important for us to understand in itself, Native Americans have something very, very valuable to teach us.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN EDUCATION COMMISSION ON CALIFORNIA CURRICULUM

Rev. Vahac Mardirosian
Rev. Mardirosian is Director of the Hispanic Urban Center, Los Angeles, California.

Introduction

I'm very happy to be in Fresno, the "capitol of western Armenia," and to welcome all of you "foreigners" here. Some people say that I am an Armenian masquerading as a Mexican, and others say that I am a Mexican masquerading as an Armenian. (My family escaped the Turkish slaughter of Armenians and brought me at age one to Tijuana, Mexico, where I grew up.) It is from the experience of a minority people, which both Armenians and Mexicans have historically been, that I would like to talk with you today. Over the past seven years, I've been very active in the educational reform movement started by young people from Mexican high schools in Los Angeles. During this time, we have developed some ideas, processes, and methodologies to try to make the Los Angeles School District more amenable to the thoughts, aspirations, and needs of our Chicano community.

Chico and The Man

Let's begin by mentioning the program *Chico and the Man*. *Chico and the Man* has become, in the short period of five weeks, one of the nation's most popular television shows according to the Neilson ratings. I wrote a letter to Robert T. Howard, President of The NBC Television Network, and sent the same comments to the *Los Angeles Times* saying that this show was offensive to Chicanos. The only program about Chicanos in 168 hours of weekly network programming ends up putting the Chicano down. I received a number of letters in response to my *Times* letter. One was from a college professor who said, "But look, why are you Chicanos complaining? Here is this character, so loveable, so intelligent, so clean, and so helpful. Why don't you take heart that television is recognizing for the first time the virtues of Chicanos by making Chico clean?"(Although the author of the show *had* written in a line telling Chico to "pick up his fleas and get out.")

The idea this country has about Chicanos is that they should be ingratiating, happy, helpful, and very much the ones who do the small things we need done. Where did we get this picture? Part of the question of a minority group's trying to rise in a society such as ours depends on the self-image of its members. The image an individual develops of himself is what he sees mirrored in the society around him. George Herbert Meade has expounded on an idea that was first proposed by Abner Smith in his book *The Origin of Moral Symphony*. Meade said that a person is what the people, the important people, say he is. The way Anglos look at Mexicans as portrayed in *Chico* gives ample evidence that we all have an idea of what a Mexican is — it is Chico. I ask you, how are we going to evolve? How are we going to change the image and make the Chicano child an intelligent, inquisitive, imaginative individual, one who will profit fully by our American school system, supposedly one of the best in the world?

Importance of Self-Image

The importance of self-image, again, is reiterated in *Pygmalion in the Classroom: Teacher Expectation and Student Performance* (McGraw-Hill, 1970). What this study shows is that what a child "can do depends, to a large degree, on what the teacher of that child thinks that that child can do." But where does the teacher get her idea of what the child is able to do? There is another study by Ray C. Rist called "Student Social Class and Teacher Expectations." I'd like to read you a part of it because I think that Rist very clearly gives us an idea of where teachers who have gone to UCLA or California State College, Fresno, get their ideas about the capabilities of children. Even though we are focusing in this conference on textbooks, I think we would all agree that the image held in the mind of the teacher is even more important than the image portrayed in the textbook, although the two work together. Rist's article says,

> *. . . the development of expectations by the kindergarten teacher as to the differential academic potential and capability of any student was significantly determined by a series of subjectively interpreted attributes and characteristics of that student. The argument may be succinctly stated in five propositions. First, the kindergarten teacher possessed a roughly constructed "ideal type"* [*a-la-Max Weber*]
>
> *. . . as to what characteristics were necessary for any given student to achieve "success" both in the public school and in the larger society . . . .* [I once talked to a teacher who told me "I take one look at a child and know whether he is going to be an A student or an F student. In 30 seconds I can tell."] *Secondly, upon first meeting her students at the beginning of the school*

year, subjective evaluations were made of the students as to possession or absence of the desired traits necessary for anticipated "success." On the basis of the evaluation, the class was divided into groups expected to succeed, (termed by the teacher "fast learners") and those anticipated to fail (termed "slow learners"). Third, differential treatment was accorded to the two groups in the classroom, with the group designated as "fast learners" receiving the majority of the teaching time, reward-directed behavior, and attention from the teacher. Those designated as "slow learners" were taught infrequently, subjected to more frequent control-oriented behavior, and received little if any supportive behavior from the teacher. Fourth, interactional patterns between the teacher and the various groups in her class became rigidified, taking on caste-like characteristics, during the course of the school year, with the gap in completion of academic material between the two groups widening as the school year progressed. Fifth, a similar process occurred in later years of schooling, but the teachers no longer relied on subjectively interpreted data as the basis for ascertaining differences in students. Rather, they were able to utilize a variety of informational sources [such as a cumulative record card] related to past performance as the basis for classroom grouping.[1]

Reading Performance in Los Angeles Schools

The results of such differential treatment are shown in the data published by the Los Angeles School District. All sixth graders in the fall of 1971 were given the state-mandated reading test. There are 435 elementary schools in Los Angeles. Each one of these schools is a dot on a scattergram. Two items of information are given about each. One is the percentile in reading achievement of the average sixth grader in that school. The national norm being 50, schools appearing along the 50 percentile line are schools where students are reading at the national norm. Above this line, of course, are schools were children read better, and below the line are the schools where children read worse.

The second item of information in this chart is the percentage of minority children, Black and Chicano, in each school. The results are most revealing. The schools that have less than 20% minority children have very high reading scores. In schools that have a large percentage of minority children, 90-100 percent are very low achievers. On the average, those schools with 80% or more minority children are reading at the 17th percentile. In terms of grade level, they are reading three

[1] *Harvard Educational Review*, 40, No. 3 (August 1970): 413-414.

years below the national norm, while sixth graders at other schools — same school district, same curriculum, same teacher qualifications, same paycheck, just different children — were way up there.

Teacher Training

It is obvious to me that the training of teachers in our colleges and universities has not included materials or methods that will enable an Anglo teacher to correctly identify the potentialities of minority children. This is a very important and very needed skill. Six years ago, as a result of the walkout in high schools with large numbers of Mexican-American students, we decided we needed to retrain Anglo teachers. As a community group, we went to UCLA and met with John Goodlad, Dean of the School of Education, and asked him how he would equip a teacher to be successful in the Chicano and Black community. Goodlad said that we would have to enable teachers to become knowledgeable about what the disciplines of sociology, psychology, social psychology, and anthropology have to say to their profession.

The Hispanic Urban Center

As an outcome, we established in Los Angeles the Hispanic Urban Center, which now trains 2,500 teachers per year in a course of study that deals with the culture, history, and current problems of the Mexican-American and the Black child. This program, now in its third year, was formed as a response to a need. I'm not an educator, I'm a pastor, but I got involved in The Center because I felt that we have to bring together college professors, classroom teachers, and the community at large to devise a methodology that will enable us to lick the problem. In July of this year, the Los Angeles County Grand Jury published a report saying that in the city of Los Angeles, the graduates of four high schools in predominantly Black and Chicano areas have on the average, reading abilities at the fourth grade level. The problem is not only the problem of the Chicano or the Black; the problem is all of our students. In East Los Angeles today among youth between the ages of 16 and 19, 60% are neither in school nor gainfully employed. Sixty percent of all the young people between 16 and 19 are becoming a time bomb that will at some point explode in the middle of our urban area. Well, this may be a little too grim, but what I'm trying to convey to you is that we must devise a methodology to give the child that comes to kindergarten from the Chicano or the Black background, a self-image that will enable that child to fully utilize his or her God-given ability, intelligence, and ingenuity. We will all profit and benefit by the child's developing his or her potential.

Textbook Adoption in California

One process in which I have become directly involved is changing the methodology of textbook adoption in the State of California. The school education code in the State of California, Article 3, Paragraph 9246 (1970), reads

> When adopting instructional material for use in the schools, the governing board shall include only instructional materials which accurately portray the cultural and racial diversity of our society, including the role and contribution of American Indians, and members of other ethnic and cultural groups, to the total development of California and the United States.

Mexican-American Education Commission

In 1971, a group of Blacks and Chicanos in Los Angeles formed a task force under the sponsorship of the Mexican-American Education Commission. This task force recruited about 25 people from the community to read through 500 social-studies textbooks that were offered for adoption for grades four through eight in California. These books were read, and in February a report was published and sent to about 1,000 people saying that these textbooks did not adequately portray the contribution of Mexican Americans, Blacks, Indians, and other minorities. For instance, you are, I'm sure, acquainted with Caughery's *Land of the Free* (Franklin Publications, 1967), 670 pages long. It's a very thick book, but it has 16 lines about Mexican Americans. We said that most textbooks were offensive to Chicanos and Blacks because of either total omission or because of stereotyping.

In July of 1971, our group rented a bus, went to Sacramento, and spoke to the State Board of Education. We told them that we needed better textbooks, and requested that they hold off the adoption process until they had named an ethnic task force. This task force would examine textbooks from a professional standpoint and make recommendations to publishers about improvements and the proper development of content. In August, September, and October we followed the Board to its meetings. We went to San Francisco, we went to Los Angeles, we went to San Diego, always insisting that they hear us. Finally, in December, a textbook committee was named to evaluate all books. The 12 members of the ethnic task force included Asian Americans, Blacks, Chicanos, and Native Americans. They were commissioned to come up with a report. This report can be obtained from the office of Dr. Riles.

In January, the Review Committee agreed that some of our complaints were valid, but that the machinery of textbook adoption was

so vast that they could not stop it. As a last ditch effort, we brought a suit against the State of California. As a result, textbook adoption was delayed for eight months to a year, and some improvements were incorporated in textbooks.

In a *Los Angeles Times* (p. 28) article dated September 13, 1974, Riles urged an "overhaul of textbook practices; asked for an end to wining and dining of screeners; called for a panel to study the minority aspect." Riles recommended creation of a committee of experts who would determine whether the content of proposed textbooks complies with state laws requiring accurate and fair treatment of minority groups and women.

Our report, the report of the textbook task force, was dated February 18, 1971. The message was finally being proposed by Superintendent Riles on September 13, 1974.

Educational Change

Who says that "we, the people" cannot make changes? It may take three years; it may take hard work; it may take homework on your part; it may take digging; but I believe that educational change is the work of people like yourself who feel as strongly about what schools do to children as preachers feel about what the devil does to Christians.

Remember that book by George B. Leonard, *Education and Ecstasy?* Why shouldn't we get the greatest thrill in life out of doing our job, of teaching children and bringing out what nobody else but we saw? When I studied in the fourth grade of an elementary school in Tijuana, one teacher looked me right in the eye and said, "Vahac, you should be President of Mexico." I said, "But, teacher, I was not born in the country and the Constitution of Mexico says that in order to be President of Mexico, you have to be a native-born Mexican." She said, "Well then, we'll change the constitution."

I think that we have a poor image of Mexican-American and Black children. This image is impoverishing us all. But it's not impossible to change. I hope that in the next few days as you look through the pages of textbooks, you'll resolve to become a participant in change.

Improving Reading Performance in Los Angeles Schools

As a result of constant work on the part of the Mexican-American Education Commission, in June of 1972 the Los Angeles school district adopted a new goal. In an unprecedented move, the school system adopted the goal that all schools below the 20th percentile were to gain, in the course of two years, 10 percentile points in reading. The school district allocated additional money, 10 million

dollars the first year and 5.5 million dollars the second year, over and above all Title I and other monies. The second part of the goal stated that all schools between 25th and 40th percentile were to gain 5 points in two years. As a result of this campaign, the average gain of the 174 schools that were below the 30th percentile (the population I'm most concerned with) was 6.5 points during the two-year period. In addition, the Board adopted a goal for every school substantially below the norm to gain 5 percentile points per year until it reached a minimum of the 45th percentile. Many of the people said, "If we set a goal and don't reach it, won't that discourage people more?" I said, "Look, we have become a great nation because we have aspired; if we wanted to go to the moon, we found a way to get there." I feel elated that an average of 6.5 points has been gained in two years. Furthermore, in analyzing the results school by school, I found that 42 schools had gained 10 points or more.

I interviewed 71 principals and asked them, "To what do you attribute your gain?" The first thing that they said was, "reading specialists in the classroom." Most teachers have gone through college, have gotten a degree, have been assigned to a school, and nonetheless have never been taught how to teach reading to a White child, much less how to teach reading to a Mexican or Black child. The skills are not there now, but the skills must become available in the classroom. Other factors that the principals mentioned were community and school cooperation, inservice training of teachers, and improving the teacher's self-image.

The first funding to implement our program came from Los Angeles Model Cities. We received a small grant of about $50,000 and set up a one-semester training program for 160 teachers and ten volunteers. We were able to get Occidental College, an accredited college in Los Angeles, to offer four units of graduate credit to anyone who took the course at the Hispanic Urban Center. The teachers came voluntarily, but they had the added incentive of salary increment points and or graduate credit. Later, we were funded under the same legislation as the General Assistance Center, the Emergency School Assistance Act. We got a grant of $600,000 to train 2,000 teachers in two years. Our program has expanded, and now one-half of the teachers receive training in teaching the Mexican child and one-half receive training in teaching the Black child.

Our organization is a nonprofit corporation made up of a board of directors that includes educators, businessmen, and community people. We were able to get support from the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, who in turn, influenced the superintendent's office. The school district accepted our program and encouraged teachers to come. Teachers still come voluntarily; however, they are strongly urged by the district, and they receive college credits.

As a result of our effort, the State has now enacted Article 3.3 of the Education Code, which requires that school districts offer courses in the culture, history, and problems of minority children. Now that this training has been seen as useful, many colleges are offering such courses. Hopefully, teachers who are going to teach in a minority area will take adequate courses in college However, I am not certain of the ability of a college to replicate what we are doing. Our program, for instance, works with ten full-time Chicano educators and eight full-time Black educators. These people know what it is to be a minority person; they were born that way. Our program is not easily duplicated by the staff at the University of California, Los Angeles, even with its 124 full-time education professors. If we go through all of the steps that traditionally have prepared teachers, we may end up with the same kind of problem.

In the meantime, I hope that you, in your own districts and with your own teachers, develop curriculum and teacher training in which you take pride. Mexican-American children, given the proper help, will very quickly get out of the educational bind, if we as educators train ourselves to do the job. I'm not sure that the existing institutions can change overnight, although obviously, when the Urban Hispanic Center started offering courses and getting $600,000 grants from the government, UCLA and USC began to write proposals duplicating what we are doing. So some of the training will be available at the university level; but much of it will be done on the basis of the knowledge and determination of local school districts who want to provide factual and complete information about Mexican Americans and other minority groups in our society and who want to provide better educational opportunities to minority-group persons.

A BLACK PERSPECTIVE ON CURRICULUM

Raye Richardson
Dr. Richardson is a lecturer in the School of Ethnic Studies, San Francisco State University.

Introduction

I brought some material to share with you that I consider excellent. Before I read it, I'd like to lay the ground work for doing so. The direction education is taking these days is going to impose new responsibilities on you. I know many of you are looking forward to retirement or at least sabbaticals. At some time, you did all the work required to become teachers, librarians, or whatever. Now the same system is telling you that you have to go back and get more training. You resent it, and the resentment comes through loud and clear. However, you who deal with children should be the most open to change of anyone in our society. You who work with the minds of children work with the most precious of commodities. After the resentment passes, maybe you will get caught up in the excitement of advancing your knowledge and skills.

The History of Minorities in the U.S.

Minorities are the most studied people in the world. We are the ultimate exotics whom everybody studies but nobody understands. In listening to the previous speakers, one of the things that struck me was that there is a kind of idea that people live outside time and geography. Of course, that's not true; everyone lives within a historical process, and everyone has reactions to that process. The history of Blacks in this country is the history of this country. There is no separate history. The Chinese speaker knows this. She knows that during the Civil War, for instance, when the tide had turned against the South, the Seccessionist States held a meeting in Montgomery, Alabama, and decided to free the Blacks and enslave the Chinese. The Chinese were no longer needed to build the railroads. The work was finished at the mines that they had been developing. Chinese were a surplus labor market in California and were being lynched at a frightening rate.

Before the South made this move, they called upon perhaps the greatest bigot in the history of California, Kearny, the man for whom Kearny Street in San Francisco is named. He addressed that

conference saying that it would be a mistake to enslave them — even though it's true that Chinese are better at stoop labor than the African — because the Chinese "have morals that no self-respecting white man can endure." A judgment of the people who had already decided that the Asian could not have an equal break in the United States.

With respect to the Native American, we know that the Seminole War was precipitated by Andrew Jackson's kidnapping the Black-White Seminole Chief, knowing that he would go to war. This act led to the March of Trails, the trail of tears that decimated the Seminole people. We can't study one group without studying the whole.

We know, for instance, that many European women were subjected to perpetual slavery for marrying Black slave men. We know that the majority of whites in this country are not descendents from the Mayflower expedition, but from the great migration at the turn of this century. We know this, and although Emma Lazarus' poetic inscription on the Statue of Liberty is beautiful idealism, nobody wants to admit to being the flotsom and the jetsam of a continent. We note that most Americans who came from Europe are precisely that. Out of the inferiority of having been rejected by their own kind, they have had to develop a new kind of personality in America. They did so, but at the expense of all other non-European people. We understand this history but we have now arrived at a time when tomorrow will not be European, when tomorrow will not be White. Tomorrow will be Black, Brown, Red, and Yellow.

Changes in The World Picture

We have a secretary of state who finds it necessary to go to places that we never knew existed ten years ago. Knowledge of the geography of the world has expanded, and you know things that your grandmother never heard of. You intimately know places that your mothers never heard of. Your children will know new names that you have never heard of. With the expansion of knowledge about our world, the world itself has become quite small. Any person of tomorrow who has no knowledge of the world will be dysfunctional in the world. Therefore, it becomes necessary to reexamine ourselves, our postures, and our attitudes.

The basic premise of logic is to start with the known and then advance to the unknown. If you are to teach young children, you must first understand yourself, deal with your own limitations, and work from your own strengths. Relax with yourself, relax with the material, and use as a yardstick Frederick Douglass' dictum about morality: "If you were given the opportunity to exchange places tomorrow, but you would not exchange, it is immoral." That's all you need to know. There is nothing frightening about dealing with a child except perhaps what you out of your own needs project on to that child.

Racism

You as teachers, parents, and individuals must remember that you are dealing with a language that is basically racist. You are dealing with a language that suggests that anything Black is evil. Last month, for instance, the country was in a kind of mourning on the anniversary of what is called Black Thursday, the anniversary of the stock market crash in 1929. Black Thursday. Why Black? We had very little to do with it. Yet that is one of the things that you must work with, one of the tools that you must use. How can you make it positive? How can you think positive about the Black child, if you think in terms of Black being negative, Black always being a problem? You have to understand, also, that conflict is therapeutic. This country severed its ties with England through conflict. It wasn't any cleaner than any other severance.

The whole concept of birth is painful. When women give birth to children, it's called labor (and believe me it is). You must understand that and deal with it, not try to destroy it. Many Black children are bitter. They have reason to be bitter, and if you resent the bitterness you have invalidated your own youth. If you understand the history of Blacks in this country, they should be bitter. You must learn how to make that anger positive and functional. It can be done.

Some of the material I have brought is delightful, and some of it is angry. You must understand that Blacks are not a monolithic group in America. Philosophically, we range from Martin Luther King, to Malcolm X, to the Panthers. We don't know what we're doing either, frankly, except continually fight the denigration begun in 1619 on these shores. We are the catalysts for change in this country, the great liberators, and the great liberalists. We have made it possible for many people to declare their own ethnicity. Many Europeans, particularly Eastern Europeans, who were also caught in this great mishmash of mediocrity that we call the melting pot theory, have not decided that they have a heritage they want to salvage for their children.

We are learning that difference is not inferiority, and that's the most important understanding we have to acquire. Prior to this time, we have been judgmental about difference. Anything different from the norm had to be inferior. How did we learn this, how did we perpetuate it? Let me give you one answer. Perhaps the most deadly and damaging device we used for perpetrating that myth was and still is the Grimms' fairy tales. Before I explore the Grimms' fairy tales, I'd like to give you a little background on the Grimm brothers themselves. The Grimm brothers joined the de Gobineau movement in France. The Comte de Gobineau was the father of Nazi ideology. He formulated the concept of White supremacy through which Hitler built a new nation. These fairy tales were the Grimm brothers' contribution to that

ideology. Perhaps one of the reasons that they are more sinister is that they are *inocula suprema*.

Grimms' Fairy Tales

Let's take the Jack in the Beanstalk story that we tell our children, Black, White, Brown, and Yellow. Jack is immediately established in the story as an idiot, and his mother is not very bright either. Jack and his mother are starving. She tells him to take the only negotiable commodity they have, a cow, to market and exchange it for food. Why they never saw it as food I don't understand, but they didn't. The cow is meat, the cow is milk, but Jack takes it to market anyway. Through a series of misadvantures, he ends up with three beans and no cow. He returns home with the three beans, and his mother is understandably angry. She throws the beans out the window.

Now although her son was an idiot one day, he becomes Christopher Columbus the following day. Overnight the beanstalk has grown, and its top is out of sight. He climbs the beanstalk, and lands at the top in the land of the giants. In this part of the fable, you can replace the giants with China, Africa, America, or any colonized people. Jack meets the wife of the giant, and another myth of Western literature happens: a woman of any colonized people is immediately attracted to the male invader. So, she immediately betrays her husband. She hides him in her dark warm oven. Very Freudian. The giant returns home and we establish here the nationality of Jack when he says "Fe Fi Fo Fum, I smell the blood of an English man." His wife assures him, "No, that's the lamb I'm cooking for your dinner." I don't know that Englishmen smell of lamb but anyway, the giant bought it. Immediately after dinner, he calls for his lute. Symbolically, the lute represents the esthetic achievement of a people through which they identify themselves internationally; the culture of the people, that is the first theft. Jack has stolen the giant's lute.

The second day when the giant returns home, he goes through the same Fe Fi Fo Fum, in case you didn't catch it the first time. After dinner the giant calls for his goose. This is crucial to this story, because it explains that although a giant (that is a Chinese, African, or Native American) may have access to enormous wealth, he doesn't know how to exploit it; therefore, he does not deserve it. The giant calls for the goose and he says, "Lay." The goose lays one egg, because that's all the giant needed for that day. If he had had the business acumen of Western culture, he would have had that goose's behind sore from laying eggs against some future exigency. He would have had closets full of golden eggs, banks full of golden eggs, right? This establishes that the giant doesn't deserve the wealth he has by accident of birth.

On the third day, the puberty rights of Western civilization and

colonization are explored. Jack steals the whole goose. The goose out of loyalty calls, "Master, Master." You know what's going to happen to Jack. At the bottom of the beanpole, we have the fuzz who know immediately who the criminal is — not the thief, but the man protecting the theft of his own property. As a result of protecting his property, the giant is wiped out. He, his wife, his kingdom. The rationale of colonization.

This same lesson is taught in Goldielocks and the Three Bears and Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs (who were never whole men). We are the beasts who walk and talk like men. Certainly no non-White child would identify with losers. The message comes across quite clearly, that criminality is forgiven if you win. Everybody wants to win. We have just had an election that is the result of the very same theory, a man who would win at any cost. Programmed to win, no different from the rest of us, only in degree.

The Dragon Takes a Wife

I'd like to read a selection from a delightful book called *The Dragon Takes A Wife*. It reverses stereotypical roles. This story is not about the White Knight (who comes out with the white hat, of course) in most American literature. I'd like to pass this book around when I finish reading from it, because the illustrations are lovely.[1]

> *Once upon a time, in the ancient kingdom of Lyraland, there lived a good but lonely dragon named Harry.*
>
> *Now Harry wanted a wife. But in Lyraland the only way to get a wife was to win her in a battle with the knight in shining armor. And Harry was not a good fighter.*
>
> *Each week he would go to a clearing in the woods to fight the knight, and each week he would lose. And he would go home and sing sad songs on his flute.*
>
> *Finally Harry decided he needed help. So one day he went over to the other side of the kingdom where all the good fairies lived.*

The story goes on with Harry the dragon asking Mabel May to make his flame twice as hot, next to make him twice as big, then to make him invisible, and finally to make him into the border of the page so he can surround and defeat the knight. Mabel May grants each of these wishes, but nonetheless, Harry blows it every time. The story ends

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[1] Walter Dean Myers. *The Dragon Takes A Wife* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1972). Copyright 1972 by Walter Dean Myers. All rights reserved.

with Harry admitting to Mabel May that he's been defeated:

> *"I give up," he said sadly. "I'll never get a wife."*
>
> *"Don't feel bad baby," said Mabel May. "My magic thing ain't working because you got your mind set on losing. You got that losing stuff in your system and you can't move right. I'll have to teach you how to move."*
>
> *"But I'm a dragon and you're a fairy," Harry said. "How can you teach me how to move?"*
>
> *"That ain't no big thing," said Mabel May. Then she waved her magic wand and said the magic words.*
>
> *Let me be a dragon*
> *And teach Harry how to move*
> *So that he can beat the knight*

As you might expect, after Harry learns how to move, he flips his tail and moves his shoulders and is able to defeat the knight. Mabel May, who "never did dig fairying too much" chooses to stay a dragon, and Harry wins her for his wife.

There is a proverb in Indian philosophy, "to understand another man, you must walk in his shoes." We are not fairies, but we must think like dragons, if we have dragons in the classroom.

The Me Nobody Knows

To close, I have a poem to read from *The Me Nobody Knows*. This book is a collection of writings by Black and Puerto Rican children in Harlem, children who had already been declared ineducable, culturally deprived, educationally handicapped, etc.; euphemisms for "nigger." Frank Cleveland, who chose the pseudonym of Clorox, was seventeen when he wrote this poem.

What Am I?

I HAVE NO MANHOOD — WHAT AM I?
YOU MADE MY WOMAN HEAD OF THE HOUSE — WHAT AM I?
YOU HAVE ORIENTED ME SO THAT I HATE AND DISTRUST
MY BROTHERS AND SISTERS — WHAT AM I?
YOU MISPRONOUNCE MY NAME AND SAY I HAVE NO
SELF-RESPECT — WHAT AM I?
YOU GIVE ME A DILAPIDATED EDUCATION SYSTEM AND
EXPECT ME TO COMPETE WITH YOU — WHAT AM I?
YOU SAY I HAVE NO DIGNITY AND THEN DEPRIVE ME
OF MY CULTURE — WHAT AM I?

YOU CALL ME A BOY, DIRTY LOWDOWN SLUT —
WHAT AM I?
NOW I'M A VICTIM OF THE WELFARE SYSTEM —
WHAT AM I?
YOU TELL ME TO WAIT FOR CHANGE TO COME, BUT 400
YEARS
HAVE PASSED AND CHANGE AIN'T COME — WHAT AM I?
I AM ALL OF YOUR SINS
I AM THE SKELETON IN YOUR CLOSETS
I AM THE UNWANTED SONS AND DAUGHTERS IN-LAWS, AND
REJECTED BABIES
I MAY BE YOUR DESTRUCTION, BUT ABOVE ALL I AM, AS
YOU SO CRUDELY PUT IT, YOUR NIGGER.[2]

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[2] Stephen M. Joseph, ed., *The Me Nobody Knows* (New York: Avon Books, 1969), p. 42. Copyright ©1969 by Stephen M. Joseph. All rights reserved.

ETHNOCENTRIC TEXTBOOKS AND PERCEPTIONS OF CULTURE: THE CASE FOR THE CHINESE-AMERICANS[1]

Albert H. Yee
Dr. Yee is Dean of Graduate Studies and Research and Professor of Educational Psychology, California State University, Long Beach.

Introduction

As a fourth-generation Californian, I was educated in this State. In California public schools, I experienced attitudes, many of which my children still encounter, that seemed highly misinformed and prejudicial. As I entered their classes for the first time, some teachers would frown and make me feel unwelcome from the beginning. Often, they would say something such as, "Now I can have a unit on China." You cannot believe how many times I had to teach everyone in classes how to use chopsticks. One of my sixth-grade teachers uttered remarks such as, "Some people with dark skins don't think they need to wash themselves." Besides myself, the class included one other possible referent, a Mexican-American fellow. I do not know if the teacher was talking about him or me, but I certainly did not feel comfortable nor did I understand her attitude. She would shake and scold the two of us on any pretext, it seemed. Little was learned, because I was so conscious of her domineering presence. She put me within arm's reach of her desk. I remember being totally absorbed in watching her throughout the day, lest she grab me for a shaking. Behavior of many teachers during my youth frightened me, though several others seemed genuinely helpful and understanding.

In California schools, I read statements such as this in textbooks: "The best American citizens have come from Ireland, Scotland, and England." That assertion was supported by showing how many presidents, congressmen, and senators had come from such heritage, which is a fact you cannot argue about. However, the fact does not lead to the generalization that follows and raises other improper and false generalizations. It allows no consideration in terms of being American, for people like me and many others. You still hear this assertion

[1] An address to the Southern California Emergency School Aid Act Projects Consortium, Pasadena Center, March 15, 1975.

when a class is in turmoil; pupils are not behaving and the teacher does not know what to do, so says, "This is not a Chinese classroom!" Hearing that in classes, I wondered why a Chinese classroom meant disorder and chaos? I went to a Chinese language school after public school and it was hardly like that at all.

There are many stereotypes, many misperceptions and many problems concerning self-identity and self-concept. Thinking, as I do quite often, about Malcolm X's *Autobiography* (1964), I recall how he described the disintegration of his family, mainly from outside influences. He said that as a youngster his view of the black people in Africa was of "naked savages, cannibals, monkeys and tigers and steaming jungles (p. 7)"; this was his youthful image of his own heritage. That image was not to change much until he was about 23, only through his own insatiable reading at Norfolk Prison Colony. Fortunately, that prison had been donated an excellent library. During that period, Malcolm X wrote:

> *I had never forgotten how when my class, me and all of those whites, had studied seventh-grade United States history back in Mason, the history of the Negro had been covered in one paragraph, and the teacher had gotten a big laugh with his joke, "Negroes' feet are so big that when they walk, they leave a hole in the ground."*
>
> *. . . You can hardly show me a black adult in America — or a white one, for that matter — who knows from the history books anything like the truth . . . of the "glorious history of the black man." I took special pains to hunt in the library for books that would inform me on details about black history.*[2]

And so Malcolm X discovered his true heritage in which he could have great pride. He also discovered cultural ethnocentrism in what Europeans and Americans stress as Western Culture. For example, he pointed out the nation's common ignorance of Chinese history and, from the Chinese point of view, historical causes for hatred and tension — a history that reinforced China's helplessness and despair (p. 177-178).

Stereotypes and Misperceptions of the Chinese: How Prejudices Against Minorities are Perpetuated in America

Let me illustrate several points about American stereotypes and misperceptions of the Chinese and how they feed back to harm the self-identity of Chinese-Americans. From what I heard and learned in school, two things tended to frighten me about my heritage. One of

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[2] Malcolm X, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, (New York: Grove Press, 1964), p. 174. Copyright © 1964 Grove Press. All rights reserved.

them was that there are so many of us Chinese. When you talk about the Chinese, they always say how many there are as if it was bad and fearsome. When you read the 15th and newest edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, the first paragraph on China says it is the most populous nation in the world. That is a fact, but why do we make so much of it alone? What other relevant facts might Americans be aware of in respect to the Chinese? As a people, the Chinese go back over 40 centuries and all things being relative, the Chinese population can be viewed as surprisingly low. It would be more realistic to view China as a continental whole and compare it as a historical arena to Europe. In doing so, we see that the rise of the Greek city-states occurred about 23 centuries ago, Jesus Christ lived 20 centuries ago, and that the Norman Conquest of England happened nine centuries ago in 1066. It is interesting to note that 25 centuries ago, the lives of Socrates and Confucius overlapped; the former was a lad of nine the year Confucius died (c. 479 B.C.), and that Caesar conquered the barbarians of northern Europe 20 centuries ago (50 B.C.), over 400 years after China's philosophic schools of thought began

In population growth, we can see that from 1662 to today, a period of only a bit more than three centuries, Europe's population increased from 100 million to 650 million. From 1801 to 1901, the English more than tripled their population from 11 million to 39 million and the Germans more than doubled from 25 million to 56 million. Against those comparative facts, the Chinese may be viewed as relatively poor producers over 40-50 centuries.

Another point in comparative terms, the area of continental United States had an Indian population of about 849 thousand (Mooney, 1928) at the first of the 18th century, which was diminished through warfare and cruel abuse to a census count of 237,196 by 1900. The 1970 Census found almost 800 thousand American Indians and a total national population of over 203 million. As we celebrate our bicentennial year in 1976, should we concentrate upon the nation's population and its growth as a prominent fact as is so incessantly done for China? Perhaps we *should* show concern, for the United States, with less than six percent of the world's population, consumes over 30% of the world's energy and wastes 50% of the food that is purchased. I doubt if 100 or even 200 Chinese use as much fuel and other natural resources as an average American does. In good times, about 2,000 calories a day more than satisfies an average Chinese, while we Americans are often not satisfied with 3,500. The question is, will the world continue to tolerate our standard of living? Our recent experiences with foreign oil and other natural resources indicates significant changes at present and more coming in the future. So, the gross population of the Chinese as a fact for generalization could have been better taught to me and my classmates.

Another point of instruction that frightened me was the emphasis upon the poverty of the Chinese in the 20th century. Textbooks show the familiar picture of two boys paddle-wheeling water from the ditch up to rice paddies. Instruction emphasized the deprivation, the poverty of the Chinese people, their crowdedness, their fatalistic and age-old suffering — all of which could be summed up by saying that the Chinese were less than human. Problems of population and poverty fit well into distasteful generalizations. The truth is that the Chinese have suffered great deprivation, but it is crucial to ask, what were their options and the causes for their past problems? Why did the textbooks neglect the causes brought about by imperialism? I wish I had the time to give you a slide report on the People's Republic of China to show how the Chinese themselves have lifted up their human condition and overcome the problems with poverty.

Now let us examine some of the causes for China's ills. Our textbooks do not cover the Opium War of 1838-1842. The Chinese government said that it did not want opium sold in China, because of its terrible harm and danger. Yet the English, who wished to profit from the opium they grew in India, callously decided to thrust opium upon the Chinese through military means. After the Chinese dumped 6 million dollars of opium into the Pearl River at Canton, British troops marched into China. In contrast to the Boston Tea Party and the American Revolutionary War, however, the Chinese lost their war for independence. As a consequence, they lost many, many rights. For instance, Chinese goods leaving China were taxed and foreign goods entering China came in duty-free. Armies of different countries carved out and ruled their own territories; foreigners established their own courts and even post offices on Chinese soil. Shanghai was a foreign city when it was infamous as the sin city of the world. Our textbooks should cover the Opium War. But the stereotype makes the Chinese appear to be lovers of opium.

For another example, very few Americans know that China sent over 200 thousand workers to Europe to help the Allied cause in the first World War. The Chinese leaders hoped thereby to obtain some protection, some help from countries such as the United States that had asked for China's aid. From school, all of us know something about President Wilson and the Versailles treaty. Yet few Americans know and few, if any, textbooks say that the treaty did not return German-held territories in China back to the Chinese. The Versailles leaders repaid China by giving her lands to Japan. The Chinese representatives to Versailles returned to Peking and their report began the year-long May 4th Movement against foreigners, especially Japan. The Chinese people know about the May 4th Movement, but very few Americans know about it, and we must ask why. Americans should know, because many Chinese militant leaders said at that

period that the Americans, the English, and all foreigners could not be trusted and that they would have to bring about change through their own means. Chou En-lai and Mao Tse-tung were among those young militant leaders. Unless you know such facts, you cannot understand the Sino-American tensions and mistrust since 1919. All of which relate to further conquest by the Japanese—Manchuria in 1931 and general war in 1937, the ineptness and failure of the League of Nations and the inevitable coming of World War II.

Thus, simplistic and sensational focussing on China's population and poverty shamed and frightened me as a child. However, after I learned more about the true circumstances and facts, I felt a sense of pride and began to be concerned about how we could overcome America's prejudices toward the Chinese.

Yellow peril is a slogan of hatred in the USA and I have even heard it used in court for no reason other than to raise a specter of fear. Under the fear of the Yellow peril, Chinese immigrants that came to California in the 19th century suffered open brutality as well as oppression from municipal and state laws that seem similar to the treatment of Blacks and Chicanos. Mark Twain and others spoke highly of the industry, honesty, and sobriety of the Chinese. But caught as they were between the claims of unemployed whites and their tenuous social status during hard times, the Chinese have been chastised for taking low wages. But why did those who force slave standards upon them go without criticism? Who really does fit the role of victim and the role of oppressor? Under the logic of such chastisement, Blacks should have been attacked for being slaves. Ironically, Leland Stanford and others attacked the Chinese for taking terms that they controlled completely. According to scholars who have specialized in frontier history, the Chinese in the first 50 years of their residence in America suffered one of the most outrageous attacks on a whole people that has ever been perpetrated. For reasons contrary to their merit, Africans and Chinese were the only people Americans barred from immigration by name and law in the 19th century and only the Chinese in the 20th century.

In fact, we are not even Chinese in California, we're Indians. Few people know that California's Supreme Court in 1854 dealt with a case where a free white citizen was convicted of murder on the testimony of a Chinese man (People vs. Hall, 1854). The Supreme Court decided that there are only three kinds of people in this world, black, white, and Indian. According to Justice Harry W. Low of San Francisco (1974), it was rationalized that Columbus landed in the New World in his attempt to find the Orient. Columbus thought the West Indies were lands of the Chinese Sea because the Indians seemed to be Chinese. Thus, it was logical for the Supreme Court of California to assert that Indians meant Asians and so the Chinese must be Indians and

Indians having no rights in court, the testimony of the Chinese witness could not stand.

In contrast, Mark Twain wrote the following as a reporter for the *Territorial Enterprise* in Virginia City, Nevada:

> *Of course there was a large Chinese population . . . it is the case with every town and city on the Pacific coast. They are a harmless race when white men either let them alone or treat them no worse than dogs; in fact, they are almost entirely harmless anyhow, for they seldom think of resenting the vilest insults or the cruelest injuries. They are quiet, peaceable, tractable, free from drunkenness, and they are as industrious as the day is long. A disorderly Chinaman is rare, and a lazy one does not exist. So long as a Chinaman has strength to use his hands he needs no support from anybody; white men often complain of want of work, but a Chinaman offers no such complaint; he always manages to find something to do. He is a great convenience to everybody — even to the worst class of white men, for he bears the most of their sins, suffering fines for their petty thefts, imprisonment for their robberies, and death for their murders. Any white man can swear a Chinaman's life away in the courts, but no Chinaman can testify against a white man. Ours is the "land of the free" — nobody denies that — nobody challenges it. (Maybe it is because we won't let other people testify.) . . .*
>
> *In California he [the Chinese] gets a living our of old mining claims that white men have abandoned as exhausted and worthless — and then the officers come down on him once a month with an exorbitant swindle to which the legislature has given the broad, general name of "foreign" mining tax, but it is usually inflicted on no foreigners but Chinamen. This swindle has in some cases been repeated once or twice on the same victim in the course of the same month — but the public treasury was not additionally enriched by it, probably. (Clemens, 1880, p. 391)*

Textbooks: Their Ethnocentrism and Neglect of American Minorities through the Chinese Experience

Let us examine two textbooks for illustration of what I have been suggesting we abhor and overcome. Many teachers and students are familiar with the State-adopted textbook titled, *Exploring the Old World* by Ben F. Ahlschwede (published by the California State Department of Education and Follett Publishing Company). It has a picture of Marco Polo on the cover showing the Venetian going through a mountain pass; a caption says, "Marco Polo on his way to

China, 1275." Going into this book, you find very little about China. In fact, it is more about the Near East, Greece, Rome, and Europe. The text has a whole section titled, "Where Our Civlization Began." And we learn from its reading that our civilization originated in those places and only in those places. I do not know if the cover was an unintended error, but the contents of the book have little to do with China, Africa, and other places of the world. The book does have quite a bit on the explorers and the discovery period. If Columbus saw this textbook and other textbooks we have on the explorers, he would probably say you give too much attention to the Santa Maria and to me. You should say much more about where we are trying to go and why? We are familiar with those few lines the textbooks use to answer those questions. Something like this: "They wanted to find a new route to Old Cathay where they needed to go to get spices, and they wanted to get more silk and other things." But they do not go into the civilization of Old Cathay. And Vasco DaGama, Henry Hudson, Sir Francis Drake, and all those great people probably would say the same. Walter T. Swingle (1975, p. 6), formerly of the Library of Congress and the Department of Agriculture, wrote after extensive study of Chinese agriculture:

> *Few Americans realize that our chief agricultural creditor is China. We are indebted to the Chinese not only for the best varieties of oranges which we grow but also for many fruits and vegetables grown commercially in the United States. The soy bean whose extraordinary food values is now at last beginning to be appreciated throughout this country, was one of the five sacred grains believed to have been given the Chinese people by the semi-mythical Emperor Shen-nung, . . . about the 29th century B.C. Rice, wheat, prose, (millet), barley, the other four of the five sacred "cereals," were grown in China many centuries before they were known in Europe; and the same can be said of many vegetables that we commonly regard as European . . . As a matter of fact, all of our cereals except maze, sorghum and some forms of oats originated in Asia. Almost all of our crops are Asian plants. All of our common temperate-zone fruit trees, except the pecan and the native persimmon, came from Asia, and all citrus fruits too. Horses, donkeys, cattle, sheep, goats, hogs and chickens are all Asiatic animals. Our debt to Asia is enormous.*

A person American textbooks might identify, especially in California and Florida, would be the name Lue Gim-gongs. Lue was the first and only one to receive the Wilder medal from the American Pomological Society and the Department of Agriculture and that was in 1911. In 1888, Lue responded to crop failures in Florida and evolved a more

economical and hardy type of orange that was the genesis for the orange we have today. Using a phrase I have repeated several times above, few Americans know Mr. Lue's name. Except for the medal, he obtained no profit from his discovery. I wonder why the orange industry of this country does not at least honor his memory.

Let us consider another textbook that is quite popular today, *Quest for Liberty* in The Field Social Studies Program. *Quest* does a better job than the other one. It does cover the Chinese immigrants and many of their problems, the injustices, but it "misses the boat" at least once. It does not mention Yick Wo. And who was the man? The story concerned the most famous legal case involving Chinese discrimination, Yick Wo vs. Hopkins in 1885, a legal case that went all the way through the U.S. Supreme Court. Yick Wo was a San Francisco laundry man who challenged an ordinance that required fire-safety licenses for laundry men. However, the law was only enforced upon the city's 150 Chinese laundries, and licenses were not required of the 170 white laundrymen. After a long legal process, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that even though the ordinance was proper, its discriminatory enforcement was unjust. Today, the case of the Chinese laundryman remains our country's leading example of equal protection under the law. You would think a book titled *Quest for Liberty* would mention it. Though less well-known, many other laws directed against the Chinese were far more abusive and long-standing (Low, 1974). The California Constitution prevented Chinese from being employed by any corporation and state or local government from 1870 to 1944, when the prohibitive provision was finally removed. Until their successful challenge in 1953, the Alien Land Acts of 1906 prevented Asians not eligible for citizenship from owning land. Up to 1953, the law prohibiting the marriage of Chinese to whites was strictly enforced. Until 1947, California law encouraged the establishment of separate schools for Asian-American children. Interestingly, to protect the rights of long-haired school boys in recent times, reference has been made to the overthrow of another San Francisco ordinance that required that Chinese men cut their pigtails and wear certain clothing.

Comprehensive Studies of Textbooks

Several years ago, I conducted a content analysis study of 300 social studies textbooks. I found that about 75% of the 300 texts made no mention of the Chinese at all. Of the remaining 76, 53 gave token representation with a picture of an Asian, often in an interracial group of Americans, and/or one or two lines mentioning urban Chinatowns (e.g., "Chinatowns preserve interesting Oriental customs; San Francisco's is a must stop for visitors to the lovely city by the Golden Gate."), several lines about Chinese railroad workers, the laundry and

culinary skills of Chinese people, or their relation to China where their ancestors first developed silk.

Twenty-three textbooks devoted several paragraphs and some even gave several pages to the Chinese. Such coverage, however, cannot overcome superficiality and misrepresentation. In discussions of the railroad period, Leland Stanford and his missing the golden spike with the silver sledge received more historical emphasis than the engineering feats and the workers. Several books provided elaborate coverage that seemed prejudicial and sensational in choice and orientation. Perhaps the most comprehensive and objective summary that could be packed into two pages is found in Frost's (1969) *A History of the USA*. Caughery's (1967) *Land of the Free* and Seaberg's (1966) *The Pioneer vs. the Wilderness* provide better than average coverages of the Chinese role in constructing the transcontinental railroad and discrimination against them in the 19th century.

Follow-up content analysis was used to see how four groups, American Indians, Blacks, Asians, and Chicanos, were treated in terms of historical content and balance, illustrations, and teacher's guides. The findings indicated a significant lack of comprehensive and accurate representation of all four cultural ethnic groups. Chicanos and Asians barely received any attention at all. Pre-1865 history received the greatest attention and space by far, to the general neglect of modern history. Consequently, little or no attention was provided historical and social aspects of the four minority groups to help students understand modern events and social issues. What illustrations and written texts were provided tended to be misleading and stereotypic.

Raise the Level of Generalization: History for and of All Americans

Somehow in this country, there has been a peculiar blend of naive simplicity, a dualism of favorability/unfavorability, and vicarious stereotypic references in the perceptions of white Americans toward the Chinese. A disparate relationship continues between reality and representation of the Chinese people in American society. Our textbooks typify the same myopic, ethnocentric view of what an American and a Chinese can be. Whatever an American is, can he or she possibly be someone like Charlie Chan, Anna May Wong, Kung Fu's Caine, Fu Manchu, Benson Fong, or Frank Chin? One of Bret Harte's "heathen Chinese," one of Pearl Buck's innumerable characters, or Mark Twain's Chinese miners? Architect I.M. Pei, novelist Han Suyin, Nobel Laureates T.D. Lee and C.N. Yang, California's Secretary of State, March Fong Eu, the highly publicized tong men and sing-song girls of bygone years, or the immigrant hoodlums of

recent times? Confucius, Lao Tzu, Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Hu Shih, or Sun Yat-sen? Madame Chiang Kai-shek, Cho En-Lai, Anna Chennault, Mao Tse-Tung, or Senator Hiram Fong? Laundryman, houseboy, grocer, restauranteur, teacher, doctor, engineer, or clerk? The answer is obviously all and none of them alone; because such a tremendously varied group of people cannot be characterized so simply, so blanketly. There are so many other relevant factors that make people real and human, factors most Americans are aware of but have not considered for Asians.

Some basic problems of social studies textbooks have been the low-level generalizations and concepts they teach about human events, values, and conditions, and their pretense at comprehensiveness. Besides misrepresentations and errors, the selected foci of concern are often so narrow or so broad that little transfer value to modern social issues is gained. Instead of arguing for reverse ethnocentrism and "yellow history" materials and courses as a final objective, I would suggest that the generalizations and concepts aimed for in social studies should be universally applicable and illustrated by a variety of examples. In such an approach, for example, conquest, war, and violence would not be glorified and presented as exemplary human behavior and the solution to problems. Thus, the Alamo would not be portrayed as a chauvinistic spectacle of good versus bad groups. It would become the realistic human tragedy it was — where the highest military courage and human devotion to a cause were shown by both Mexicans and Texans, all dedicated and yet constrained by the force of circumstances to their common deadly fate. The consequences of that battle continue to be reflected in negative attitudes, which American textbooks and teachers continue to perpetuate. A comprehensive approach to that event and its participants would provide important learnings about the forces and background that brought it about and the consequences that followed. The Boxer Rebellion could be treated similarly and that would make a revealing study indeed, especially in contrast to Hollywood's *Ten Days in Peking*. Some would say that teachers and textbooks should not teach problems, especially those that suggest that the country has made mistakes. I would simply say to them that history is made out of great problems that are somehow resolved, for good and bad. Much as we would cover the Revolutionary War and World War II, we cannot neglect the contributions of all Americans and all significant influences that developed this great land. I have tried to show that neglecting the Chinese in textbooks makes for cultural ethnocentrism and minority abuse.

In conclusion, I will read what Ralph Linton wrote to illustrate the borrowing of peoples from others, and that all cultures, especially that of the United States, are indebted to others. Some of Linton's points are mistaken and many more examples can be added, but he makes the

idea absolutely clear.

> *Our solid American citizen awakens in a bed built on a pattern which originated in the Near East but which was modified in Northern Europe before it was transmitted to America. He throws back covers made from cotton, domesticated in India, or linen, domesticated in the Near East, or silk, the use of which was discovered in China. All of these materials have been spun and woven by processes invented in the Near East. He slips into his moccasins, invented by the Indians of the Eastern woodlands, and goes to the bathroom whose fixtures are a mixture of European and American inventions, both of recent date. He takes off his pajamas, a garment invented in India, and washes with soap invented by the ancient Gauls. He then shaves, a masochistic rite which seems to have been derived from either Sumer or ancient Egypt.*
>
> *. . . He begins breakfast with an orange, from the eastern Mediterranean, a canteloupe from Persia, or perhaps a piece of African watermelon. With this he has coffee, an Abyssinian plant, with cream and sugar. Both the domestication of cows and the idea of milking them originated in the Near East, while sugar was first made in India. After his fruit and first coffee he goes on to waffles, cakes made by a Scandinavian technique from wheat domesticated in Asia Minor. Over these he pours maple syrup, invented by the Indians of the Eastern Woodlands. As a side dish he may have the egg of a species of bird domesticated in Indo-China, or thin strips of the flesh of an animal domesticated in Eastern Asia which have been salted and smoked by a process developed in northern Europe.*
>
> *. . . While smoking he reads the news of the day, imprinted in characters invented by the ancient Semites upon a material invented in China by a process invented in Germany. As he absorbs the accounts of foreign troubles he will, if he is a good conservative citizen, thank a Hebrew deity in an Indo-European language that he is 100 percent American.*[1]

[1] Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man: An Introduction*.(New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936), pp. 326-327. Copyright. All rights reserved. Reprinted 1964, Appleton-Century Crofts; distributed by Prentice-Hall.

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LOCUS OF CONTROL LEARNING AND IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATORS

James A. Vasquez
Dr. Vasquez is Co-Director of STRIDE (Service, Training, and Research in Desegregated Education), Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, San Francisco.

Definition of Locus of Control

Many people believe that by their own actions they can have an impact on their environment and so bring about the rewards and reinforcements they desire. Many others, however, believe that what happens to them in life has little or no relation to their own actions. They do not believe that by their own ability or effort they are able to effect their own reinforcements.

The phrase "locus of control" refers to those causes to which individuals attribute their success or failure. The four major determinants, or causes, perceived to effect success or failure are ability, effort, task difficulty, and luck (Heider, 1958; Weiner, et al., 1972a). When an individual believes that by means of his own actions he can in some way determine the reinforcements that come to him, he is said to be internally oriented with respect to locus of control. Conversely, the external person is one who does not perceive a relationship between his own actions and the rewards or punishments that are found in his life. Thus, Rotter (1966) states that "locus of control refers to the self versus environmental responsibility for an outcome," and Keller (1971) maintains that, "internal locus of control refers to the perception of positive and/or negative events as being consequential to one's own actions and thereby under personal control. External locus of control refers to the perceptions of positive and/or negative events as being unrelated to one's own behavior and therefore beyond personal control."

Persons who are "internals" will generally attribute their successes and failures to their own ability, effort, or both. "Externals," however, will generally attribute success and failure to either luck, task difficulty, or other outside forces. (For purposes of this paper, the terms internal and external will be used to refer, respectively, to those students who tend to attribute causality inwardly to self and to those who attribute causality externally to such determinants as luck or easiness of task.)

Consequently, locus of control is a "generalized expectancy" that is related to one's perception of reinforcements, i.e., whether they are contingent upon one's own actions or upon factors beyond one's control (Rotter, 1954).

Prevalence of Externality Among Individuals with Lower Socioeconomic Status

There is a considerable body of literature which indicates that externality is a function of one's socioeconomic status (SES); that is, individuals with lower socioeconomic status tend to score as externals, while individuals with higher socioeconomic status generally score as internals. Lefcourt (1966), for example, suggests that lack of internality may be a by-product of poverty and racial and cultural barriers. Franklin (1963), using a national, stratified sample of 1,000 subjects, found a significant relationship between high SES and internality, while Battle and Rotter (1963), using black and white sixth- and eighth-grade students, found a significant social-class effect on locus of control scores (they controlled for race and IQ). Further, Shaw and Uhl (1971), in a study investigating the relationship between locus of control scores and school achievements (as measured by reading scores), found that lower-class blacks and whites had significantly higher external scores than upper middle-class blacks and whites. Gruen and Ottinger (1969) also found that middle-class children were more internal than lower-class children, while Jesso, et al. (1968), found that "internal control expectancies are positively associated with socioeconomic status" and that one's objective access to opportunities in a community is a function of perceived control.

These and numerous other studies give strong support to the belief that locus of control is closely tied to socioeconomic status, and that individuals whose backgrounds reflect poverty and social disadvantage are almost invariably found at the external end of the locus of control continuum; that is, they believe that external forces are largely responsible for what happens to them and have great difficulty in attributing causality to themselves. When one considers what life is like among the poor, this conclusion is intuitively logical. The consequences of this external orientation are most unfortunate, however, particularly in terms of its implications for learning.

Locus of Control and Learning

The effects of locus of control on learning have been investigated from a number of perspectives by many researchers. In sum, we may state outright that virtually all the advantages are on the side of the internal.

For example, Crandall et al., (1965) and McGhee and Crandall (1968) found a positive relationship between internality, achievement striving, and academic performance, while Weiner (1972b) states that (internal) causal attributions influence the likelihood of undertaking achievement activities, intensity of work at those activities, and the degree of persistence a student may have in the face of failure. Further, the Coleman Report (1966) states that at all grade levels studied, the Mexican-American student's belief in his ability to control or influence his environment was the attitudinal item most highly related to achievement (Mayeske, 1968). What these studies all seem to be indicating is that the degree to which an individual excels as a student (no matter what the areas of assessment are) is a function of how internal the student is.

There are many ways in which locus of control affects learning. Some of them are:

1. SELF-RELIANCE. Tseng (1970), in a study of 140 vocational rehabilitation clients, found that internals scored significantly higher than externals in the area of self-reliance. The scoring pattern has clear implications for the classroom, where students are expected to work as independently as possible in completing their assignments. Externals, it appears, are more dependent on others in completing their assigned tasks. It seems evident that the tendency of internals to rely more on themselves gives them a notable advantage over externals in classroom situations.

2. LEVEL OF ASPIRATION. In a study of high school students, Franklin (1963) found that those who intended to go to college were more internal than high school students randomly selected from the population. It is intuitively apparent that the individual who believes he has some kind of control over his own reinforcements is in a position to develop strategies that will assure him of receiving the reinforcements he desires; that is, he will make plans for the future. The external individual however, since he sees little or no relation between his own actions and the reinforcements and punishments that come into his life, tends not to make plans at all.

3. EXPECTANCY OF SUCCESS. Frieze and Weiner (1971) have shown that the ability to attribute causality internally is imperative if one's expectancy of success on a future task is to be increased. In particular, when the student has immediately experienced success on a given task, these researchers say, attribution by the individual to the particular internal trait of ability will increase his expectancy of success on a future, similar task. Conversely, if the individual has just

experienced failure on a task, attribution to the internal trait of effort, as opposed to ability, will at least allow him to keep on trying in spite of the failure. Since the failure was attributed to a trait (effort) that may fluctuate from task to task, the individual is not so discouraged by the failure as he would be had he attributed it to a stable trait such as ability. In each of these cases, however, the individual must be able to make an internal attribution in order to maintain or increase his expectancy of success on future tasks. Thus it is that externals, who find it difficult to attribute either success or failure experiences to themselves, will generally not have as high an expectancy of success as individuals who are able to attribute failure experiences internally to low effort, and success experiences internally to ability.

4. ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION. The degree to which a student is motivated to achieve appears to be linked to the degree to which he is internally oriented. Various researchers hold that the more internal one is, the greater will be one's desire for achievement, since attributions of success that are made to oneself are more satisfying than those which are made to external factors. In fact, so closely are internality and achievement motivation linked in the minds of some researchers that Weiner et al. (1969) specifically define persons with high achievement motivation as those who are disposed to attribute success internally. A number of studies support the view that the student's achievement motivation is a function of the degree to which he is internal in his locus of control. Reimanis (1970), for example, reports that externality appears to interfere with one's efforts to increase achievement striving in the classroom. Additionally, McClelland et al. (1953), Atkinson (1958), and Crandall (1963) all suggest that people who demonstrate high need for achievement are likely to have some belief in their own ability or skill to determine the outcome of their efforts.

5. INTENSITY OF WORK. Beyond affecting the degree of motivation with which one will work at activities, locus of control also appears to affect the *intensity* with which one works (Weiner, 1972b). This may result from the fact that self-concept is more involved in the case of an internal, as compared to the external. Since the external individual tends not to believe that there is a causal relation between his actions and subsequent events in his life it is not likely that he will reflect on his behaviors as either successful or non-successful. Behavior, for the external, tends to be routine and conformist in nature. The self-concept is not involved. The internal, however, is highly ego-involved since he believes (wrongly or rightly) that all (or nearly all) that happens to him is a direct consequence of his own actions. His self-concept is enhanced by a success experience and is threatened by an experience of failure.

He will, therefore, work more intensely at effecting those types of reinforcements that are most rewarding to him.

6. AFFECTIVE REACTION TO REINFORCEMENT. Locus of control affects the learning process in another most interesting manner, for it is believed that one's affective reaction will be influenced by whether one attributes success and failure internally or externally (Weiner et al., 1972a). Internal aspirations, it is believed, magnify emotional responses. Thus, greater pride is felt if one has attributed a success experience internally, that is, to one's own ability or effort, as opposed to external variables such as luck or other people. Conversely, if failure has been attributed internally, greater shame will be felt by the individual. Numerous studies have confirmed this rather intuitively logical observation (Lanzetta and Hanna, 1969; Leventhal and Michaels, 1971; Weiner and Kukla, 1970).

7. PERFORMANCE UNDER SKILL CONDITIONS. Keller (1971) has shown that internal students greatly prefer to work under conditions in which outcomes are determined by skill rather than by chance. Not only do they prefer these working conditions, but they perform better under them. The relevance of this observation to the classroom is obvious. Supposedly, the learning that occurs in the classroom occurs under conditions requiring skills and is not a matter of chance. Teachers plan their lessons and their presentations of the lessons. Knowledge is presumably acquired as the student puts forth effort in comprehending the lesson and in practicing the drills that are a part of the lesson. Learning is thus not intended to be a matter of luck or chance. Understandably, internals greatly prefer performing under skill conditions to performing under chance conditions, since skill conditions presumably allow the individual who believes he can affect his environment the opportunity to do so. In sum, since the learning environment in the classroom is such that learning is mediated under skill conditions as opposed to chance conditions, and since the internal prefers these working conditions and the external does not, it is clearly advantageous to be an internal in our classrooms today.

8. PERFORMANCE ON TESTS. Finally, it appears that locus of control discriminates among students in the very important area of test-taking. In a recent study (Gozali et al., 1973), investigators gave 63 university students a locus of control test and a verbal ability test. They found that there was a linear relationship between internality and time utilization. Test items had been previously rated in terms of how difficult they were. Some items thus were easier, some were harder. Interestingly, it was found that externals did not take more time for the more difficul items. They appeared to be indiscriminate in

terms of the amount of time they took for different items. Internals, however, used time in a manner systematically related to the difficulty of the item. The investigators suggest that these differences may explain why locus of control, although unrelated to ability, is a predictor of achievement test scores. It is not clear why internals take more time for more difficult items on tests while externals do not. One may conjecture that internals are able to perceive which items are difficult with greater facility than externals. Or it may be due to the fact that, since success is more satisfying to internals than to externals, they take more time on harder items in order to be assured of successful outcomes. But whatever the reasons, internals clearly have the advantage over externals in the crucial area of test-taking.

Steps Toward Fostering Internality

Very little work has been done in the area of fostering internality in students. Most of the research deals with the social or educational implications of internality or externality, or with locus of control among prison inmates, parolees, or individuals with physical or other types of handicaps. We have studied learning situations in a variety of areas, but always in terms of the effects of locus of control, not how to go about changing it. This information is certainly important, but it is now time to go back and look at those processes which can bring an individual from externality to internality.

In view of the many advantages that internal students have over externals in learning activities, what practical steps can teachers and administrators take to foster internality among external students? On the basis of some research that has been done in this area, we will make four suggestions.

1. CAUSE-EFFECT RELATIONSHIPS. The problem in this area is that an understanding of cause-effect relationship is essential to internal attribution of success or failure, and this understanding has not been developed adequately in the mind of the external individual because of negative social experiences within the family, within a poverty-level existence, possibly even within a culturally biased classroom. The question is, how do we begin to build understanding of cause and effect?

The following four criteria provide a framework for answering the question. The criteria are stated in terms for the teacher or administrator and have to be put in other words for your students.

One way to recognize cause-effect relationships is to see that the cause has sufficient power to produce the effect. In other words, we need to help children identify the sufficient condition. A second principle students should comprehend is that without the cause, the

action or result would not have occurred. In other words, no result or effect is possible without a prior cause. A third element of cause-effect relationship asserts that other equally likely causes must not be present if we are to identify a single cause. Finally, the cause must precede the effect in time; there is a temporal relationship between cause and effect. These things may seem elementary, but external students need help on an elementary level to begin to understand cause-effect relationships.

In the classroom, it is necessary to start with examples of cause-effect relationships that can be used to help externals recognize analogous situations in all aspects of life. A student text might include a story of a forest fire, for example. The teacher can point to the fire as an effect and then ask what caused it or why it happened. It is important to begin with familiar events that do not involve people, and use these examples to show that every event has a cause.

Once students begin to understand the operation of cause and effect in familiar, naturalistic settings, they can begin looking at human examples. Then finally, they can be helped to study their own behavior, to systematically identify the reasons for which things happen to them, i.e., the causes of their failures and their successes.

2. GOAL SETTING IN AREAS OF COMPETENCE. Secondly, external students need help in setting goals in areas of perceived mastery. In other words, one of the things the external child needs is to experience success. As mentioned earlier, people often develop as externals because they have too many failure experiences. For reasons of mental health, they begin to attribute outcomes to external influences. It seems clear that these children need experiences of mastery that make them feel good and thus encourage them to accept the responsibility for those successes. The area of mastery is the most logical place to begin if we are going to assure children of success experiences. Externals are largely underachievers, but there is some area in every child's life in which he performs well. The child may not even know where his areas of mastery are, but it is our duty as educators to find them. Then we can start to help the child formulate realistic goals, thus assuring him a reasonable number of success experiences.

3. ACTIVITIES REQUIRING INTERNAL ATTRIBUTION. We still have no guarantee, however, that the child will attribute those experiences of success to himself. Thus a third requirement in this teaching effort, probably the most difficult task of all, is to engage children in activities that require internal attribution. There are two activities that can be mentioned. One calls for doing creative tasks. Creativity has such a broad definition that it is difficult to judge in terms of

success or failure. Usually the teacher can legitimately say "that is very creative, I have never seen anything like this," and the child cannot help but take the credit himself. By definition, creativity is one's own work. It is almost impossible to attribute a creative product to external causes.

Another activity which requires an internal attribution is peer tutoring. The peer tutor in this case has to be the external child, who is placed in a tutoring relationship with another child who is having, for example, a problem with math. Allow the tutor, the external child, to spend some time helping his peer. When the session is over and the peer with the problem has learned something, the external child, who has been the teacher in this case, is virtually forced to take the credit for himself. He can't attribute the success to the teacher because the teacher wasn't directly involved. In fact, he was the teacher. He can't totally say the child being tutored helped himself, because the child's inability to help himself led to the need for tutoring. So it is that the peer tutoring task requires an internal attribution. There are undoubtedly other similar examples teachers can suggest as they consider their own students.

In summary, then, we suggest three things are needed to help the external child become more internal: he must understand cause-effect relationships, he must have success experiences, and he must be offered situations whose outcomes demand internal attribution. Ideally, activities should be chosen that require internal attributions and that offer a high probability of success to the student.

4. VIGNETTES. A last point concerns the use of vignettes or very short stories, simple paragraphs that are accompanied by questions pointing the reader to the cause in the vignette. Let us say that the teacher composed her own vignettes, five paragraphs, once a week. In each of them, a child is observed in a certain task. The child may succeed or fail in that story; it doesn't matter. What matters is that the reader, the external child, be able to identify why the person in the story succeeded or did not. The student can be prompted by such questions as, "Did Joe try hard enough to succeed in this story?" That question encourages the child to think about the cause-effect relationship, "try hard-succeed," or "don't try hard-maybe not succeed." Another question might be, "Did Betty give up too soon in this story?" encouraging thought about the effects of effort and persistence. Still another question could be, "Has John done other things equally difficult before?" If the character is known to have succeeded previously in difficult tasks, but is seen to fail this time, then the reader, the external child, can begin to understand that the character has the ability to succeed, and that there must be another cause that explains the outcome. Another question might be, "Why did Charles

feel good when he finished the task?" This encourages the reader to believe that there is a legitimate relationship between feeling good (or bad) and outcomes one experiences. This is another method for teaching external students to assume responsibility for learning tasks.

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USES OF SCHOOL CONFLICT

John P. DeCecco
Dr. DeCecco is Professor of Psychology at San Francisco State University.

Introduction: Conflict in Schools

Among the stern realities of schools is daily conflict. There are conflicts between students and school adults. Students have conflicts with teachers over attendance, grades, school work, classroom disruptions, swearing, behavior in halls, and expression of unpopular opinions. They have conflicts with counselors over choices of courses, prerequisites, graduation requirements, and credit for work outside the school building. They have conflicts with deans and assistant principals over alleged violations of school rules and the punishments meted out. As editors of school papers and representatives of various groups, students have conflicts with principals, over censorship, assembly, and decision-making power. As members of ethnic groups and as members of various sexual subgroups, they have conflicts with school adults over the right of equality. There are student conflicts with custodians over littering the classrooms and the halls, breaking windows, defacing walls, and destroying rest rooms.

Changes in Issues

Those of us who have worked in schools for even a few years know that conflict between students and school adults is nothing new. What appears to change from time to time are the issues. When we collected our first data in 1969, many high school students, following in the footsteps of university students, were into the peace movement and political action and were hotly contesting issues of free speech, free press, free assembly, racial equality, and civil disobedience. A little later their interest in student rights and political action gave way to a consuming passion for rock music and drugs. More recently that interest has shifted to purification through eastern religions, Zen meditation, and organic food. Now (would you believe?) student interest appears to have shifted back to school rules, dress codes, law, and even the Constitution. After Watergate, some students in a local high school even asked, "Man, what's with this *due process?*" Some are now asking for weekly quizzes and courses that are going to get them into "good" colleges.

Conflicts Among School Adults

There are also conflicts that school adults have with each other. Some of these grow hoary and even venerable with time, as conflicts do when the parties are bound together by blood, legal ties, and tenure. There are conflicts over who's most rigorous, most relevant, working the hardest and the most, with the least amount for relaxation, preparation, and "growth." There are fights over whose turn it is to police the halls, playground, and lunch room, who gets assigned to the room with the defunct radiators and chalkboards, who gets the department chair this time, the new federal and state funds, the crazy, unteachable kids, the student teachers, the paraprofessionals who think they are teachers, the intrusive supervisor with the inexhaustible supply of audiovisual aids, the pushy parents, the principals who can never be found or, when found, never quite make decisions, or sh re decisions, particularly informed decisions that they will stick to in the face of even mild dissent. There are fights with custodians over the arrangement of the furniture, the repair of vandalized locks and rooms, and who is responsible for keeping the rooms clean.

Equality

Today some of the most painful school conflicts are over the issue of equality. Participants in the civil rights movements have asked school adults and students to discard stereotypes associated not only with skin color, but also with nationality, sex, sexual orientation, status, class, money, dress, age, and physical appearance. By discarding these stereotypes the school can work its way to respecting the right of every individual, school adult as well as student, to human relationships of equality and mutuality.

With the collapse in the 1950's and 1960's of the historical fiction that America was one homogenous family, most of us have felt in one way or another, the painful impact of two opposing pressures: for integration and for separation. The black child, for example, may feel the pressure to achieve the status and material comfort of the middle-class white child. The white child may feel the pressure to share comforts with the black child and to enjoy some of the folkways of black society. These are the pressures of integration. The black child, however, may want to maintain the pride of racial identity, the distinctiveness of belonging to the black race. And the white child may want to enjoy what is unique in his family background. These are the pressures for separation.

Destructive Conflict

These opposing pressures can become so intense that they destroy the

lives of individuals. An article appeared in *The New York Times* (March 19, 1972, p. 50) about the suicide of an assistant high school principal in Flint, Michigan. His name was Mr. Cabell and he was black. Here are some excerpts:

> *During the week previous to the suicide there has been conflict in the school between black and white students. More fuel was added when two white girls passed a note between them, a note about "niggers." One threw it in the wastebasket but a black girl fished it out and passed it among blacks — more fuel. [Tension mounted and Mr. Cabell decided to call all the students to the auditorium.]*
>
> *The auditorium meeting was chaotic. Students demanded he read the recovered note and he did. He tried to explain it away as tactless, but he was shouted down, called an Uncle Tom, and accused of not being black enough. When a girl tried to defend the assistant principal she was told to shut up and sit down. Only a minority attacked him, but most of the black students allowed him to be shouted down. Those that saw him afterward said he had been shaken as never before, and he never told his wife about that meeting.*
>
> *[About a week later] after writing a three-page letter for the school and another for his wife, Mr. Cabell shot himself. [That morning] 75 to 100 whites gathered in the cafeteria and demanded protection in the school. Blacks began gathering too. Then Mr. Towns, the principal, began talking over the loudspeaker the whites began jeering. He told of Mr. Cabell's death and the blacks took it as jeering at the death, which whites deny. A melee started, broken up after the principal ordered the cafeteria cleared.*
>
> *The whites left, but the blacks would not go. They also refused to go to class. As the day went on they drifted through the halls and the school was closed. [The school remained open the following day] with parents patrolling, but there was chaos in the halls and a few more whites were beaten. And the school was closed again that day, to be reopened . . . with two dozen policemen in attendance.*
>
> *Mr. Cabell wrote he was weary of fighting "insensitive trainers known as teachers," but most of his letter was devoted to his dilemma: isolated, "in the middle, never right, always wrong."*
>
> *"I cannot allow myself to turn against what I know to be right," he*

> *said. "On the other hand I cannot turn nor will I be turned against my people."*
>
> *He said that dying was the only way to get the attention of "the vast majority of black students who did not take a stand" and to "impress upon you the need to stop standing back and force out those 'sick' people who will never let us black people become equal, because they want to compete or fight with white folks instead of working and understanding them."*

The incident reveals how destructive conflict can become for individuals, groups, and institutions. As the newspaper report indicates, the incident was made up of a series of conflicts which, allowed to escalate, became a hurricane no one could stop. Sometimes peoples and nations get caught up in a maelstrom of events and emotions that must have their tragic denouement. But there may be ways of averting the holocaust by attending to the smaller conflicts that lead to the larger, destructive conflicts.

The Negotiation Mode

To find some process for constructively resolving school conflicts we developed a model of negotiation. This model is based on data we have been gathering since 1969 and on psychological and social science theory. The original sample was 6,783 high school students in metropolitan New York and Philadelphia. These data have been supplemented by interviews with about 1,500 students in the San Francisco Bay Area and by interviews with school adults. Presently, our graduate students are using the negotiation model to study how conflicts in various school settings are being handled by students and school adults.

The negotiation model has three steps: First, each side makes statements of issues with direct verbal expression of anger to the other side. Second, both sides agree to common statements of issues. They agree as to what is negotiable and what is non-negotiable. Third, both sides engage in bargaining, in which each side makes concessions and gains. Negotiated resolutions avoid what Deutsch calls destructive conflict.[1] He defines destructive conflict as that in which one side wins all and the other side loses all.

Applying the Negotiation Model.

To illustrate how the negotiation model is applied to our data on school

[1] Morton Deutsch, *The Resolution of School Conflict*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973. Copyright. All rights reserved.

conflict, I have selected from *Growing Pains* a conflict incident described by a teacher.

> *This type of incident took place at the very first faculty meeting just before the opening of school in September. It started as soon as the principal asked the teachers to decide on procedures of such routine matters as yard rules, hall rules, general behavior and expectations. It became immediately evident that the faculty was split on how these items should be handled. The old-timers at the school (half of the group) wished to continue using the rules that had previously existed and proved worthwhile before. (Incidentally, the principal had been at this school as assistant principal.) The new teachers to the school favored an easy, relaxed, swingy atmosphere with as few rules as possible. They preferred no lines, talking in the halls and even voiced opinions against such traumatic things as saluting the flag. Some of the old-timers were accused of being narrow-minded and dictatorial (Achtung! was one pet phrase used.) although they expressed that their feelings were that school rules should be somewhat stiff at first but not inflexible and never subject to change even if the children demonstrated that a slackening of restrictions might be in order . . . . In my humble opinion, the problems were handled poorly. Many could have been completely avoided if at the beginning rules and expectations had been outlined for us by the administration to be changed as need or opportunity arose. Outside help was brought in — Dr. (Head-Shrink) and 1-man staff. Two perfectly good evenings were wasted with these jokers with little or anything being accomplished. Unfortunately, bickering has gone for more than half of the school year.*
>
> *Finally, through the student council, some of the problems concerning procedures are being resolved and strangely enough they have asked for such things as class line, more order in the building, etc. I very strongly believe in change, but change as an outgrowth of experience and not just for the sake of change. Modifications and/or innovation should take place on a constant developmental basis through such processes as refinement and accrued knowledge.*[2]

Step One: Statement of Issues with Verbal Expression of Anger

The first step in the negotiation process is the statement of issues with

[2] The research data, the negotiation model, and its application to school conflict are described in *Growing Pains: Uses of School Conflict* by John P. DeCecco and Arlene K. Richards (New York: Aberdeen Press, 1974), p. 208. Copyright © 1974 by Aberdeen Press. All rights reserved.

direct, verbal expression of anger made by all parties to the conflict. There were originally three parties to this conflict: the older teachers, the younger teachers, and the principal. When the conflict went unresolved for a semester it involved a fourth party, the student council. Of these four parties only three stated their positions. The older teachers wanted the existing rules, with consistent and strict enforcement. The younger teachers wanted fewer rules, with relaxed enforcement. The student council wanted the same rules that the older teachers were arguing for. The word "bickering" suggests that the debate among the teachers resulted in their stating their positions with some degree of anger.

There was one party, however, who did not state his side of the issues nor express any anger. It was the principal. What he did was to call in a psychiatrist or psychologist. The writer's language, at this point in the protocol, suggests considerable irritation. The action by the principal wasted two evenings and it implied that the principal thought the conflict issue was the precarious state of the teachers' mental health. The writer explicitly states that the conflict would not have dragged on if the principal had taken a position and told the teachers what he wanted as rules.

The expression of anger appears to be an important first step in negotiation. Anger can be expressed in words or deeds. It can be directed against the parties who provoked it or it can be displaced onto other parties, oneself, or things. When expressed in words, anger can be channeled toward specific issues. When left verbally unexpressed and unchanneled, anger can result in global complaints ("everything about this school stinks"), personality attacks ("he's obviously paranoid"), physical threats ("my big brother and I will get you after school"), violence, and vandalism. The displacement of anger into personality attacks is seen in the conflict incident when the younger teachers accused the older teachers of being "narrow-minded and dictatorial." A favorite way students have for displacing anger is by defacing, dismantling, and burning down their schools. Plugged toilets, detached wash basins, and broken windows have become major school budget items.

Step Two: Agreement on Common Statement of Issues

The second step in negotiation is the agreement by all sides on a common statement of issues. It appears that this step was partially taken by both groups of teachers and by the student council. There was agreement that the school rules governing student conduct were the issue. But agreement did not get much further than that. The writer's description reveals that this issue was complex. There was disagreement over who should make the rules, what rules were necessary, how

many rules there should be, how they should be enforced, and how, if necessary, they should be changed. In effect, a series of issues got buried under one global issue. There also appeared to be philosophical differences over the basis, degree, and rate of institutional change.

The greater the number of parties and issues in the conflict, the more difficult it is to resolve (Deutsch, 1973). The longer a conflict drags on, the more issues and parties become involved. With more parties and more issues, step two, agreement on common statements of issues, becomes more and more difficult.

Step Three: Bargaining

None of the parties was able to take the third step of negotiation: bargaining with each side making concessions. If all sides, including the principal, had originally voiced their complaints about which rules and enforcement practices were troublesome and then proceeded to agree to limit the negotiations to specific rules, there would have been greater likelihood of serious bargaining. As events really occurred, there was no approach to bargaining.

NEGOTIATING. The following conflict shows how negotation can be used. The parties to this conflict are (1) the student and his parent and (2) the school adults, including teacher, department chairman, and principal. The writer is the teacher (*Growing Pains*, pp. 197-98):

> *The parents of one student angrily requested a conference of myself, department chairman, and principal in relation to the course information on the previous day. The father was all excited on my teaching communism, the weakness of democracy and even "teaching" communism to the students. Despite explaining the situation and events, aims and objectives fully to him, he still adamantly insisted on action against me to rectify this evident un-American teaching of history.*
>
> *All three of us tried, unsuccessfully, to convince him that our objectives in the course [were] the exact opposite of what he thought. Our goal was independent thinking; thought evaluation and comparative analysis techniques, as well as understanding propaganda, from any side. The "argument" then shifted to curriculum control and content, with the parents favoring parental consent of a course, etc. The three of us sought to bring out the fallacies here; non-familiarity with education, teaching, etc. that would involve parental "control."*
>
> *Finally, with the great aid of the principal and department chairman, the parents gave in a little and stated they would wait*

> *to evaluate it (the course and me) at the end of the 8 wk course period, in relation to the boy's reaction (in whom I trusted fully, and who inadvertently began it—he disagreed with his dad, also).*

Of all the parties to the conflict, the parents, chiefly the father, directly expressed anger to the other party, the history teacher. The issue, as the father saw it, was some disciplinary action against the teacher, possibly the firing of the teacher. The school adults avoided the expression of anger by shifting the discussion to broad issues of curricular objectives. They stated the issue as professional control of the curriculum and academic freedom for discussing political topics.

Finally, the parties all agreed that the issue was the course itself and the boy's reaction to the course. The bargaining consisted of the parents giving up their demand for the teacher's dismissal and the school adults giving up some curricular control by providing the parents a course evaluation after eight weeks. Presumably, if the boy's reaction was unfavorable, further negotiation would have been in order.

The principal and department chairman could have acted as mediators rather than parties to the conflict. As mediators, school officials can get all parties in conflicts to take the steps in the negotiation process. In the preceding conflict, the principal and department head could have spoken separately with the student, his parents, and the teacher to find out what the issues were. Then they could bring the parties together so that they could tell each other exactly what they were angry about, agree to what was negotiable, and work toward a mutually acceptable compromise.

The heavy professionalism with which the three school adults countered the demands of the parents may have conveyed the message that parents are ignorant of curricular matters, teaching practices, and even the educational needs of their children. Such professionalism implies that parents should be excluded from educational decisions that affect their children. It is not an invitation to parents to negotiate. Less assertive parents would withdraw from the conflict, or use some indirect way to attack the teacher or the school. The parents in this conflict, however, "hung in there" until a mutually satisfying arrangement was reached.

Constructive Conflict: Creating School Change

Our research has been based on the belief that conflict can release "energy that can power renewal of the high school" (*Growing Pains*, p. 236). There is, however, a distinction between constructive and destructive conflict. Constructive conflict, according to L. Coser in *The Functions of Social Conflict* integrates individuals into groups and

integrates groups into the larger community. Productive conflict, according to Deutsch (1973, p. 19):

> *. . . prevents stagnation, it stimulates interest and curiosity, it is the medium through which problems can be aired and solutions arrived at; it is the root of personal and social change. Conflict is often the process of testing and assessing oneself and, as such, may be highly enjoyable as one experiences the pleasure of full and active use of one's capacities.*

To return to the first incident, the writer on school rules states that the conflict could have been avoided if the principal had outlined the rules and his expectations. But there were apparently serious disagreements among the teachers and students about rules and rule enforcement. Was there anything gained by the teachers and students openly debating these issues?

The debate raised a fundamental educational issue: How much should the school impose rules on students, and how much should it be teaching self-discipline? When presented with the opportunity to decide on the rules, it appears that the student council followed a surprisingly conservative course of action by requesting the reinstitution of the old rules. But the council at least had the opportunity to consider the issue of rules, and it may have decided that the old rules were not so bad after all. In one sense, old rules can become a matter of self-discipline if students know, try, and willingly give up some new options.

The teachers also had a chance to air their different points of view. The younger teachers had a chance to express their belief that students should learn self-discipline and that a school should not be a stultifying bureaucracy. The older teachers had a chance to express their belief that a school cannot operate without rules, or rules that are not consistently enforced. The writer of the incident had a chance to express the view that change should be piecemeal and realistic.

The conflict incident, therefore, had the value of revealing all these points of view. Expressed as the first step in negotiation, each point of view suggests a different set of options for resolving the conflict. In this way, parties to conflicts can use the different ideas rather than correcting, ignoring, or suppressing them. Negotiations can lead to resolutions that parties could not imagine occurring when conflicts started. By taking the anger aroused by conflicts and by channeling it into negotiations, anger can become the wellspring for creative school change.

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